



QUEENSHIP AND POWER



THE QUEENS REGNANT OF NAVARRE

Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274–1512



Elena Woodacre



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QUEENSHIP AND POWER

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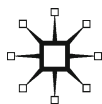
By Elena Woodacre

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NAVARRE

SUCCESSION, POLITICS, AND
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THE QUEENS REGNANT OF NAVARRE

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To my long suffering family, Mike, Charlotte and William, who never hesitate to remind me at moments of stress, frustration, and despair that I am “living the dream.” Thank you for putting up with me and my obsession with these Navarrese queens.

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I NOTE ON LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATIONS

All quotes are presented in the text in English and all translations from their original language are my own, unless otherwise noted. It has not been practical in terms of space to include all of the original language in the footnotes, except for key passages.

Generally although the queens of Navarre are often referred to in various forms of their given names (e.g., Juana I of Navarre is often referred to as “Jeanne de Navarre” or as Joan or Joanna in English), I have tried to consistently use their Spanish appellations. I have also retained Castillian forms for the names of Iberian monarchs; however, I have Anglicized the names of French monarchs (e.g., using Philip instead of Philippe). With other names I have used the form that is most common or appropriate; for example, Juana II’s mother is referred to as Marguerite of Burgundy, not Margaret or Margarita, while for Catalina’s mother I have used Magdalena of France, not Madeleine, as Magdalena is the most common form of reference for her.

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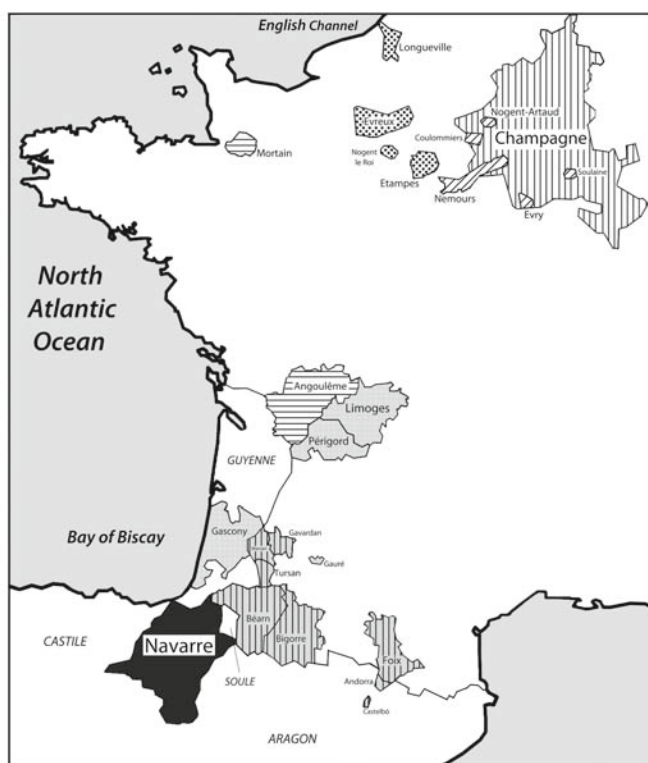
ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Archivo Catedral de Pamplona
ADP	Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona
ADPA	Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques (formerly Archives des Basse Pyrénées)
AGN	Archivo General de Navarra (Pamplona)
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional Madrid
AME	Archivo Municipal de Estella (Navarra)
AMO	Archivo Municipal de Olite (Navarra)
AMP	Archivo Municipal de Pamplona
AMT	Archivo Municipal de Tafalla (Navarra)
AMSCI	Archivo del Monasterio de Santa Clara (Navarra)
Caj.	Cajón (Box)
DME	Osés Urricelqui, Merche, <i>Documentación medieval de Estella (siglos XII-XVI). Vol. Tomo I Colección Historia</i> (Pamplona, 2005).
DMO	Beroiz Lazcano, Marcelino, <i>Documentación medieval de Olite (siglos XII-XIV)</i> (Pamplona, 2009).
Favyn	Favyn, Andre. <i>Histoire de Navarre; contenant l'Origine, les Vies et conquests de ses Rois, depuis leur commencement jusques a present</i> (Paris, 1612).
<i>Histoire de Gaston IV</i>	Leseur, Guillaume. <i>Histoire de Gaston IV, Comte de Foix (Chronique Française inédite du XV^e siècle)</i> . 2 vols., ed. Henri Courteault. (Paris, 1893).
Moret (+vol.)	Jose de Moret, <i>Anales del Reino de Navarra</i> , Vols. 5–7, (Tolosa, 1891).
Yanguas y Miranda	Yanguas y Miranda, José. <i>Inventario del Archivo del Reyno de Navarra. Tomo II. Seccion de Casamientos y muertes de Reyes, Sucesion en la Corona, proclamaciones y juramentos Reales.</i>

Copies of original documents made circa 1830. Unpublished, part of the collection at the AGN.

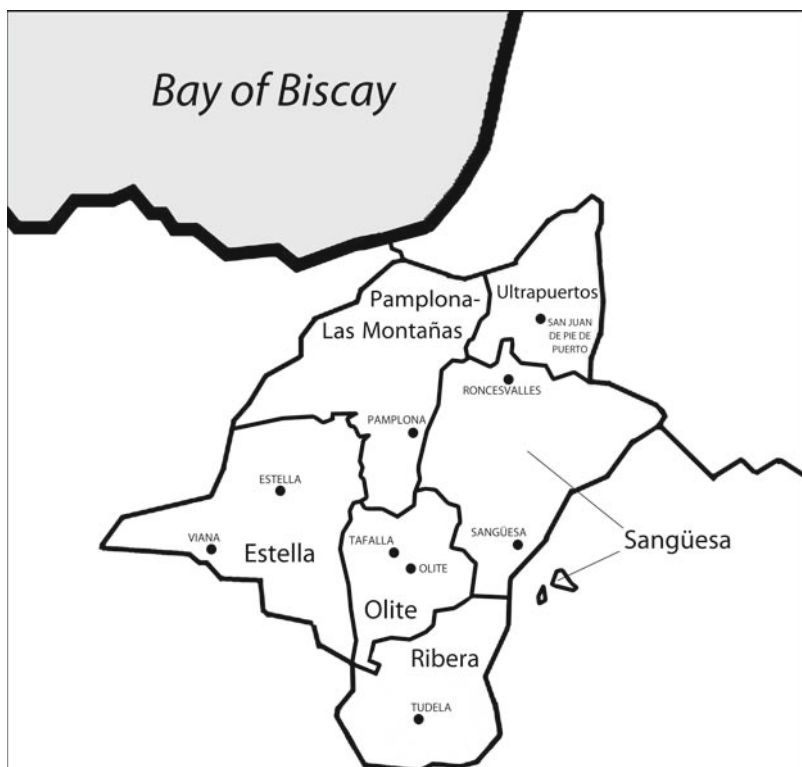
Zurita (+vol.)

Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. 9 vols., ed. Angel Canellas Lopez. (Zaragoza, 1980–90).



- | | |
|--|--|
|  Kingdom of Navarre (annexed by Castile, 1512) |  Duchy of Nemours (granted to Carlos III in 1404; possession contested) |
|  County of Champagne (inheritance of Juana I; lost, 1328) |  Patrimony of Gaston IV of Foix, consort of Leonor (retained post-1512) |
|  Patrimony of Philip d'Evreux, consort of Juana II |  Patrimony of Jean d'Albret, consort of Catalina (retained post-1512) |
|  Territory acquired by the Evreux dynasty in exchange for the rights to Champagne (lost during the reigns of Carlos II & III) |  Other Kingdoms |

Map 1 French Territory held by the Queens of Navarre and their Consorts.



Map 2 The Kingdom of Navarre in the Late Middle Ages.

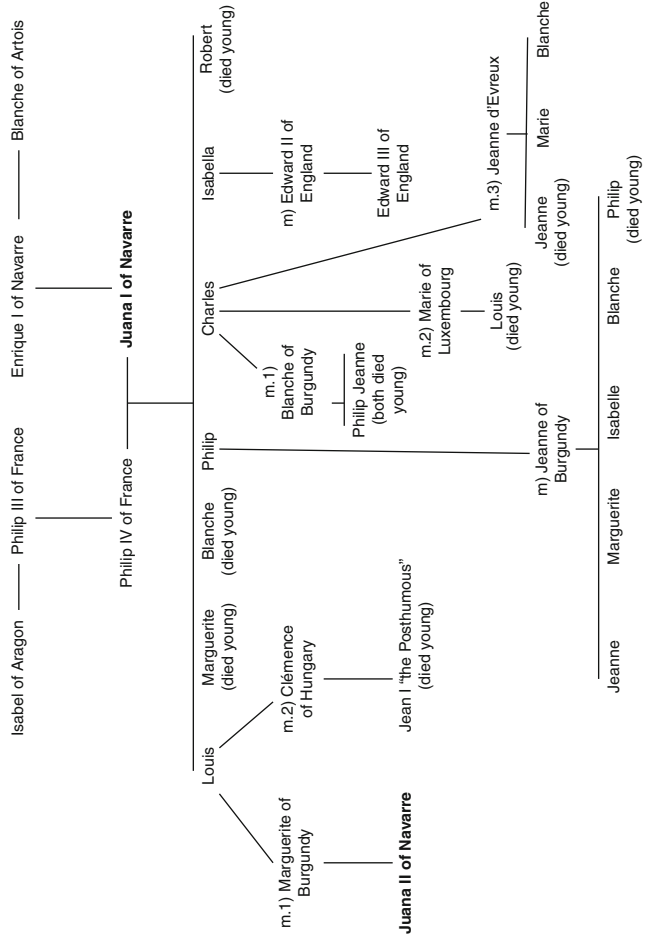


Chart I Predecessors and Descendants of Juana I.

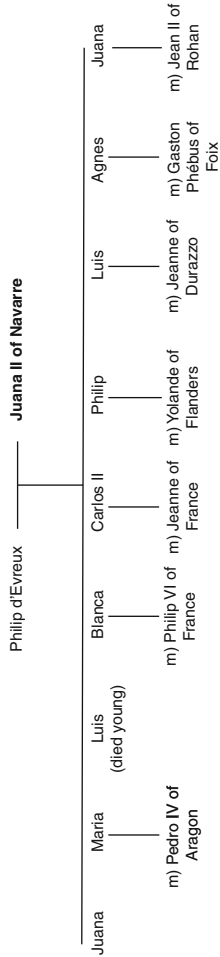


Chart 2 Descendants of Juana II.

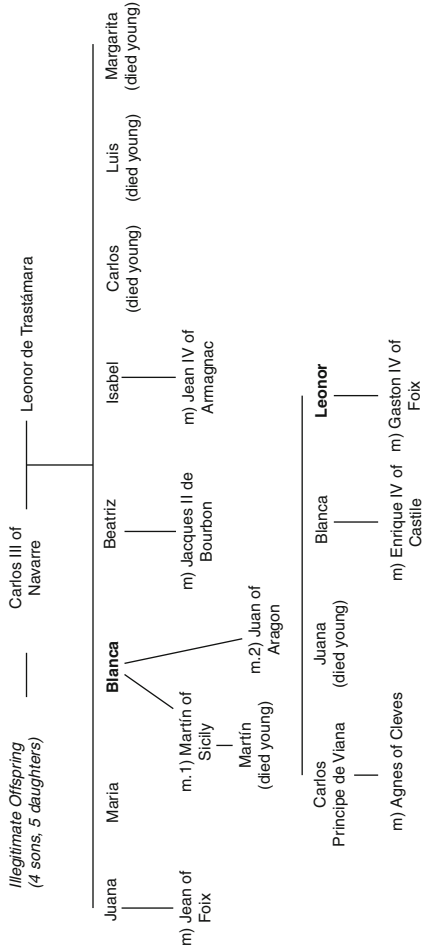


Chart 3 Predecessors and Descendants of Blanca.

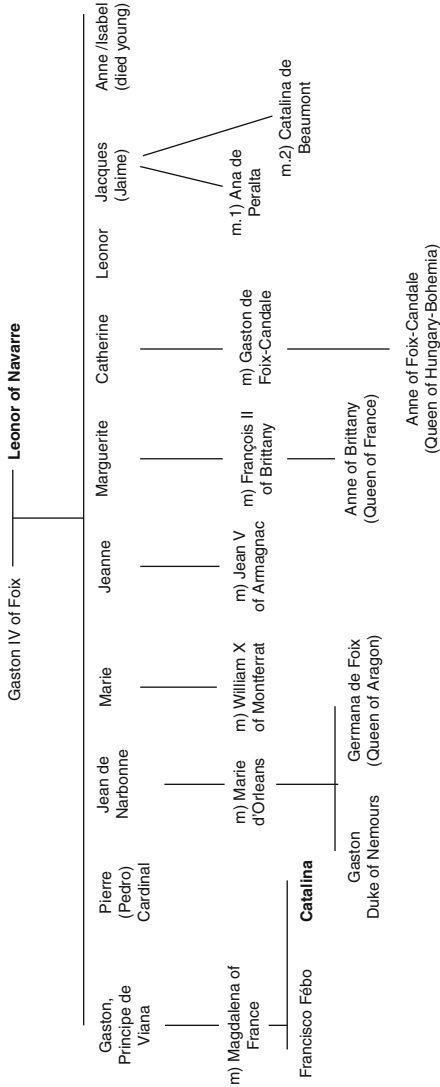


Chart 4 Descendants of Leonor.

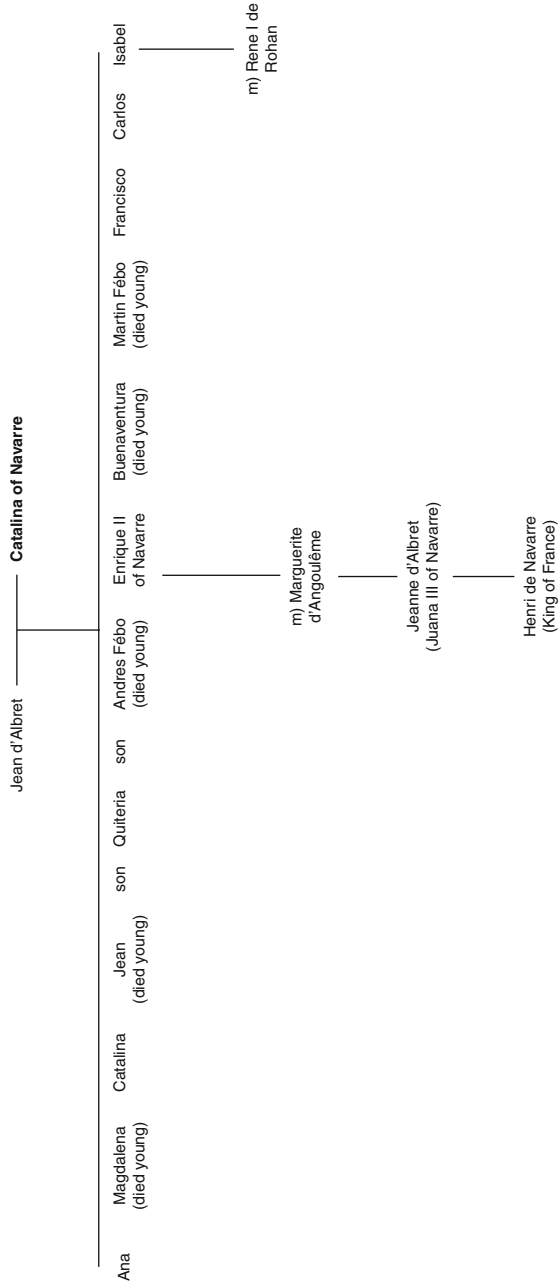


Chart 5 Descendants of Catalina.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: GEOGRAPHY AND GENDERED RULE

The Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre, now a semiautonomous region in the northeast corner of Spain, was a realm that “was born and lived in the Middle Ages.”¹ Although it was smaller than its Iberian neighbors, Castile and Aragon, its comparatively diminutive size belies the kingdom’s historical significance. Navarre’s location gave it dominance over the most accessible, and therefore the most important, Pyrenean passes that controlled land traffic between the Iberian Peninsula and Continental Europe. Its central position on the famous pilgrimage route from Continental Europe to the shrine at Santiago de Compostela brought travelers and traders from across Europe. The kingdom was also a locus for cultural interaction as the junction between the Iberian Peninsula, France, and the Basque region.

However, Navarre’s strategic position was not its only significant feature. The Kingdom of Navarre had the largest group of female sovereigns in any one realm during the Middle Ages, with five women reigning in their own right between 1274 and 1512. Although many European realms theoretically permitted female succession in the absence of male heirs, the accession of women to the throne was fairly rare. No other European kingdom produced more than two queens regnant during this period, and many had none at all.² Moreover, Navarre was under nearly continuous female rule between the period of 1425 to 1512, with the exception of one fourteen-year interlude.

The unusual size of this particular cohort of queens provides an unparalleled opportunity to investigate developments in gynocracy in the Middle Ages. By examining them as a cohesive group, it is possible to evaluate the overall effect of female rule on the kingdom and gain an increased understanding of how women were able to access and exercise power as monarchs, both individually and in conjunction

with their king consort. Moreover, the important familiar and political connections that the queens of Navarre had in Western Europe, and particularly in France and Iberia, make their situation incredibly significant to the wider context of medieval queenship.

Placing the Queens of Navarre in Their Historical Context

The foundations of the kingdom began with the rise of Kingdom of Pamplona, which began to be known as the *Reino de Navarra*, or Kingdom of Navarre, around the eleventh century.³ The early Middle Ages saw an expansion of Navarrese territory and influence that reached its zenith under the Sancho Garcés III *el Mayor* who ruled from 1004 to 1035. This period saw an almost entirely Iberian focus for dynastic marriages, with the exception of a few royal brides who came from their French Pyrenean neighbors. However, the marriages of two Navarrese princesses, Berengaria and Blanche, in the late twelfth century, had an important impact on the future of the realm. Berengaria was married to Richard I of England, while her sister Blanche married Thibault of Champagne, a powerful French count, whose family was connected to the French crown and to the throne of Jerusalem. Blanche's son, Thibault, eventually became Teobaldo I of Navarre after the death of his uncle, Sancho VII, without issue. The accession of Teobaldo I forged a union between Navarre and his own counties of Champagne and Brie, which greatly increased the size of the royal domains and their overall wealth. This connection also radically changed the diplomatic outlook of the realm, forcing it to look north, bringing new connections in France and beyond. As one of the most important magnates in France, it is unsurprising that the Champenois kings chose almost exclusively French brides, in fact from 1234 to 1387, none of the rulers of Navarre had an Iberian spouse.

The French entanglement became much more permanent at the end of the thirteenth century. The last Champenois king, Enrique I, died in 1274, leaving his infant daughter, Juana, as his heir. Her mother, Blanche of Artois, struggled to secure the realm for her daughter as her Iberian neighbors moved in with predatory intent and the kingdom became increasingly unstable. Only months after her husband's death, Blanche fled across the Pyrenees and appealed for support from her relative Philip III of France to help her infant daughter keep her newly acquired crown. The Treaty of Orleans, in

May 1275, provided a marriage agreement between his son Philip and the young queen that would eventually unite the crowns of France and Navarre. This gave the French king a strategic toehold in Iberia, while it ensured that Juana would retain her throne. Perhaps more importantly, it also brought the young queen's rich Champenois lands into the royal fold. The Capetians held the throne of Navarre until 1328 as the throne passed through all three of the couple's sons. During this period, Navarre was governed remotely from Paris with a team of French governors and officials installed in Pamplona.

The year 1328 was crucial in Navarrese history. Juana's eldest son, Louis, died in 1314 and was succeeded in both France and Navarre by his brothers Philip and Charles in turn. Although Louis's daughter Juana had been bypassed for the French succession due to her extreme youth, sex, and disputed parentage, by Navarrese law and custom, she was considered to be the rightful queen of Navarre. The Navarrese tolerated the rule of Louis's brothers, but when Philip of Valois eventually claimed the French crown on Charles's death in 1328, there was no possibility of allowing him to claim Navarre as he lacked any blood tie to the royal Navarrese line. Juana was finally acknowledged as queen of Navarre, and she and her husband, Philip d'Evreux, went to Pamplona to receive the crown.

The advent of the Evreux dynasty severed the direct linkage between the crowns of Navarre and France, although it did not entirely remove the entanglement in French politics. Juana II's son, Carlos II of Navarre (often referred to as Charles *le Mauvais* or Charles the Bad), still saw himself as a potential claimant to the French throne and his involvement in the Hundred Years War was both destructive and costly. However, the Evreux dynasty did involve itself considerably more in Iberian politics and the running of the realm than their Capetian predecessors. They built bonds of alliance and marriage with Aragon and Castile, and although they were forced to divide their time between their French and Iberian holdings, they did reside for long periods in Navarre in contrast to the practice of the Capetians.

The reign of Carlos III saw an increasing shift into the Iberian sphere. Although some historians have argued that he saw himself as more of a French prince than an Iberian king, an examination of his reign shows an ever-increasing Iberianization.⁴ His marriage to Leonor de Trastámara solidified the realm's links to Castile and brought a strong Iberian influence to the court.⁵ The marriages of Carlos's daughters and sisters also showed a healthy balance between

protecting his own frontiers and building wider diplomatic links. Carlos used matrimonial diplomacy effectively, his female relatives were contracted in marriages with English kings, Iberian princes, and French lords to build a wide-ranging network of alliances. Carlos also married his illegitimate offspring to key nobles within the realm to ensure their support and loyalty.

However, his daughter and eventual heir Blanca's marriages demonstrate a definite Iberian emphasis of Carlos's foreign policy. Her first marriage was to Martín the Younger, King of Sicily and heir to the throne of Aragon. The death of her husband and infant son ultimately led to the Compromise of Caspe and the advent of the Trastámara dynasty in Aragon. Carlos decided to renew the connection with Aragon with Blanca's second marriage to the Infante Juan. However, the decision to retain the marital alliance with Aragon failed to guarantee peace with their Spanish neighbors.

Juan of Aragon eventually drew Navarre into a war with Castile due to his continual interference in the Castilian politics. The Treaty of Toledo in 1436 attempted to restore Iberian harmony through a marriage between the young Castilian heir and Blanca and Juan's eldest daughter.⁶ Blanca's children were comfortably placed to ensure Iberian hegemony, with her son as the heir to Navarre and Aragon, her daughter Blanca set to become Queen of Castile, and her youngest daughter, Leonor, as the Countess of Foix. However, after her death in 1441, Juan of Aragon used a codicil in her will to prevent their son Carlos, the Principe de Viana, from acceding to the throne of Navarre, and instead favored the claim of his son Ferdinand, by his second wife, for the throne of Aragon. The quarrel between Juan and Carlos gave rise to a civil war in Navarre that continued long after both men died. The kingdom never managed to fully recover from the effects of this prolonged upheaval and conflict. Matters were made worse by Enrique IV's decision to repudiate his Navarrese bride in 1453. Upon her return to Navarre, the princess Blanca joined her brother in his struggle against their father.

The marriage of the youngest daughter, Leonor, to Gaston IV of Foix was not originally intended to unite the realm with its Pyrenean neighbors. However, Juan's decision to favor Leonor's claim over that of her older siblings, and the shadowy deaths of the Principe de Viana and the Infanta Blanca changed the direction of Navarrese history. Leonor was promoted to heir apparent, and she governed Navarre as Juan's lieutenant from 1455 to 1479. Her marriage created a union with the house of Foix-Béarn which pulled the loyalties

of the Navarrese crown back toward France and created a situation where the ruling dynasty was struggling to manage a large territorial amalgamation on both sides of the Pyrenees.

The creation of a Pyrenean bloc was a risky strategy, but it was not without logic or merit. In theory, increasing their territorial size should have made them less vulnerable and prevented them from being caught up in the perpetual tug-of-war between France and its Iberian neighbors. However, the creation of this impressive Pyrenean block or "*núcleo pirenaico*" built by the marriages of Navarrese queens to the lords of Foix and Albret was a potentially dangerous strategy that upset the delicate equilibrium in the region.⁷

The damage done by the civil war triggered by Juan and Carlos's struggle split the country into rival camps, the Agramonts and the Beaumonts. This lack of cohesion was exacerbated by the addition of the territories of the Foix and Albret consorts, whose interests, customs, traditions, and languages had little in common with the Iberian kingdom that they were joined to. It only remained for their predatory neighbors to exploit the destabilization of the Pyrenean realm in order to secure their own frontiers against their rivals. In 1512, Ferdinand of Aragon was able to invade and annex Navarre during the reign of Catalina I, leaving the queen and her descendants with an empty title and their remaining territorial possessions in France.

As this summary has demonstrated, Navarre's location made the realm an incredibly strategic territory, which France, Castile, Aragon, and to some extent England, all sought to control. The realm was subject to influence and interference from both Iberia and France, and the marriages of its rulers, particularly the queens regnant, drove the foreign policy of the kingdom. Thus the kingdom's destiny during the Middle Ages was shaped, to a significant degree, by the combination of its position at the crossroads between Iberia and France and the advent of its female rulers.

Female Rule and Partnership

Despite the fact that the queens regnant of Navarre form such a uniquely large group, they have attracted little academic investigation outside of their own region and have never been explicitly studied in the context of female rule. This study will provide a unique perspective and a deeper analysis of the political careers and partnerships of these significant but previously overlooked sovereigns. It will identify

the factors that enabled so many women to rule in one kingdom, demonstrate how the foreign policy of the kingdom was shaped by the marriages of its queens, characterize different modes of partnership between the queens and their consorts, and finally evaluate the overall impact of female rule on Navarre in the Middle Ages.

The study of queenship is a field that has developed rapidly in recent years although its origins stem from a long-standing interest in notable female figures, many of whom, such as Isabel of Castile, Elizabeth of England, and Eleanor of Aquitaine, were queens.⁸ In the late 1960s it began to develop as a distinctive discipline under the umbrella of Women's and later Gender Studies with surges in scholarship as the field has waxed and waned in academic popularity over time. There was a backlash against the popularity of queenship studies in the 1980s and a subsequent emphasis on social history and studies of nonelite women who were felt to be more obscured in historical records.⁹ However, Theresa Earenfight has made the argument that queens and other elite women can often be equally obscured even though they are "highly visible" due to the misogynistic bias of contemporary writers who have often minimized their role in chronicles as well as in more recent secondary scholarship that has often sidelined these women and their participation in governance.¹⁰

Several strands of study within the discipline of queenship have developed over time. These various strands include the examination of the roles of queens consort, queens regnant, and queens regent, as well as several pockets of regional or temporal foci. Different thematic strands have emerged from the initial and still popular emphasis on biographies to explorations of artistic, architectural, and literary patronage and examinations of the gendered exercise of power, with particular emphasis on female rule.

One of the most active areas of study within the field of queenship over the last twenty years, which is particularly relevant to this study, has been the examination of the situation in the Iberian Peninsula. Iberian queenship has some distinctive features, such as the office of queen-lieutenant (a type of regent who rules in her husband's absence), which is found primarily, though not exclusively, in the kingdom of Aragon. Work on Iberian queenship has attracted academics working both in English and Spanish, with several prominent scholars such as Theresa Earenfight, Cristina Segura Graíño, Miriam Shadis, Peggy Liss, and Núria Silleras-Fernández.

The majority of the work on Iberian queenship has tended to focus on individual queens, and indeed there have been several

fascinating queens, consorts, lieutenants, and sovereigns who have merited and attracted study. These obviously include Isabel of Castile and her infamous daughter, Juana “*la loca*.”¹¹ In addition, there are several earlier queens whose careers have been examined, such as Urraca of León-Castile, Teresa and Beatriz of Portugal, Philippa and Catalina of Lancaster, and Violante of Bar to name only a few.¹² Recent monographs of note, which combine biographical studies with an analysis of female rule, include Núria Silleras-Fernández’s work on Maria de Luna, studies of Berenguela of Castile by Miriam Shadis and Janna Bianchini, and Theresa Earenfight’s assessment of Maria of Castile.¹³ Cristina Segura Graíño is one of the few scholars in the field whose work has a broader focus. Although her work tends to center on Castilian queenship, she also engages in wider discussions of women and power in medieval and Early Modern Iberia.¹⁴ Portuguese queenship is another vibrant area of study with an excellent series on the Queens of Portugal published by Círculo de Leitores, which is directed by Manuela Santos Silva, Isabel dos Guimarães, and Ana Maria Rodrigues. Despite the wealth of activity in this area, Navarrese queenship has been completely bypassed by these studies, perhaps due to the perception that Navarre is more French than Iberian, a perception that ironically stems from the Franco-Navarrese alliances crafted by some of the queens in this study.

However, the Navarrese queens have not been examined in terms of French queenship either, except for passing mentions of Juana I as the consort of Philip IV or Juana II as the test case for female succession. French queenship has also been thoroughly examined, although given the refusal of the French to tolerate direct female rule (to be discussed at length in the chapter on succession with regard to Juana II), these studies have been primarily focused on queens consort and regent.¹⁵ One of the strongest contributors to this area is Éliane Viannot who has written both on individual figures such as Anne de Beaujeu and Marguerite de Valois and has also explored the overall landscape of women in power in France.¹⁶ Her work on the “invention” of Salic Law, along with that of Sarah Hanley and Craig Taylor, was particularly useful to the investigation of Juana II’s failed attempt to claim the throne of France.¹⁷

In addition to works in the geographical context of Navarre, the queens of many European nations have been the subject of study. Although it is largely peripheral to this study, it is worth noting that British queenship has been a particularly popular area, both in the

studies of medieval queens consort, such as Margaret of Anjou and Eleanor of Castile, as well as the Early Modern female sovereigns such as Elizabeth Tudor and Mary, Queen of Scots.¹⁸ This strand of study has generated several strong collections of scholarship, spearheaded by experts Carole Levin, Susan Doran, and Clarissa Campbell Orr.¹⁹ An excellent recent contribution to this field is Charles Beem's study of English queens regnant, *The Lioness Roared*.²⁰ Another recent addition to this area that spawned a BBC documentary series is Helen Castor's *She-Wolves*, which examines three medieval queens consort who wielded considerable power: Eleanor of Aquitaine, Isabella of France, and Margaret of Anjou.²¹

Finally, while the field has been dominated by studies on individual queens or on regional surveys, there have been several collections that have brought together work on ruling women from across Europe. The first of these is *Medieval Queenship*, edited by John Carmi Parsons, which includes papers on queens of every type over the whole of Continental Europe and the British Isles from the Carolingian period to the end of the fifteenth century.²² Another excellent collection of papers was generated by a conference on queenship in 1995 and published two years later in a volume edited by Anne Duggan.²³ Three more collections were published in 2009: *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, and *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*.²⁴ These recent collections have highlighted the interdisciplinary nature of queenship study with contributions from specialists in literature, gender studies, art historians, and mainstream historians. Monographs that survey queenship are fairly rare; however, Sharon Jansen produced an excellent study of the Early Modern "Monstrous Regiment," which includes an excellent chapter on "Fifteenth Century Foremothers."²⁵ William Monter has also recently published *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe; 1300–1800* and Theresa Earenfight has developed a much needed textbook on medieval queenship.²⁶

Queenship studies may have begun with the idea that the important role of these elite women had been neglected by medieval and modern historians and needed to be specifically highlighted, but recent scholarship has stressed these womens' role as a crucial and integral part of the overall mechanism of monarchy.²⁷

As Earenfight has rightly noted "queenship and kingship constitute a relational pair," and thus the power-sharing dynamic between the queen and her husband is naturally a crucial element to explore.²⁸

Although Elizabeth I of England remained unmarried, it is important to recognize that she is an anomaly, though it could be argued that her success stemmed from the fact that she remained independent. Rulers, both male and female, were obligated to marry in order to ensure dynastic continuity. Moreover, female monarchs were under additional pressure to have a male coruler to share power with. Janna Bianchini, in her recent monograph on Berenguela of Castile, argued that it was difficult for a female monarch to gain support for her rule without either a son, husband, or another male relative to share power with.²⁹

In any monarchical pair, power and responsibilities must be shared on a number of levels including administrative, domestic, diplomatic, legislative, military, and financial duties. How effectively a monarchical pair was able to form a strong working partnership with a healthy power-sharing dynamic is vital to their ability to govern their realm effectively. Both partners must be content with the power-sharing dynamic and must be willing to work together to support one another in order for the monarchical pair to function effectively. This concept of partnership is an area that has not received a great deal of academic attention in the past, particularly with regard to the power-sharing dynamic between queens regnant and their consorts.

Examining the partnership of reigning queens and consort kings sheds light on both the corporate nature of monarchy and the gendered understanding of the exercise of power during the Middle Ages. The advent of a queen regnant and a king consort created a challenging situation that confounded normal gender roles and created confusion and even controversy over whose prerogative it was to actually rule the realm. A medieval ruling pair was normally composed of a king, who was the rightful heir to the throne, and his wife, who was the queen consort. When a woman was the rightful heir to the throne, the position of her husband was often unclear. A man was unsuited to the duties normally expected of a queen consort; while it was possible for him to assist with administration and function as the monarch's spouse and helpmeet, the likelihood of a man confining himself largely to the domestic and child-rearing sphere was highly implausible, particularly during the Middle Ages. Even in the modern era, male consorts have struggled to define their role. Some consorts, like Prince Albert and Prince Philip of Britain, have created their own definition of the role to suit their own interests while other consorts, such as Prince Henrik of Denmark, have struggled with the often vague delineation and prerogatives of the position.³⁰

The idea of a wife ruling over her husband was just as emasculating as the premise of a man taking over the role of a queen consort. Consequently, even though the woman may have inherited the right to the throne, the expectation may have been that her husband, as the head of their family, should rule instead. Jean Bodin argued that

...gynecocracy is directly contrary to the laws of nature... Moreover the law of God explicitly enjoins that the woman should be subject, not only in matters concerning law and government, but within each particular family... If natural law is violated by gynecocracy, so are the civil law and the law of nations, and to an even greater degree. By them the woman is required to follow her husband though he have neither lands nor possessions. In this opinion canonists, doctors of civil law, and theologians are all agreed. The woman is bound in obedience to her husband, her dowry is his by right, as are likewise all properties accruing to her.³¹

Although Bodin published this work in 1576, he would have considered the examples of reigning queens from Middle Ages as well as those of the “Monstrous Regiment” of his own period. His views were also clearly based on biblical verse as the sentiment “let wives be subject to their husbands” can be found not only in I Peter but also in Paul’s letters to the Colossians and Ephesians as well.³² As Margaret Sommerville noted, “Saints Peter and Paul had not inserted exemption clauses for the case of married queens.”³³ However, just as in Kantorwicz’s notion of the king’s two bodies, a queen regnant could also function simultaneously as a sovereign to whom all were subject and as a wife who was supposed to be subject to her husband.³⁴ Sommerville suggests, “A queen regnant’s consort had to obey her in political matters even as he ruled her in domestic ones.”³⁵ However, defenders of female rule could cite biblical precedent for a married woman who could also rule as in the case of the judge Deborah, who as the Early Modern writer Thomas Craig noted “tho’a married woman and subject to a husband, reign’d over the Lord’s people notwithstanding.”³⁶

As a consequence of this contradiction between the perceived role of a sovereign as the ultimate power in the realm and the understanding that a husband should be the dominant power in a marriage, the partnership of a queen regnant and king consort was potentially fraught with difficulty. No matter which royal spouse was the rightful sovereign or consort, every ruling couple had to develop a balance of power between them. The actual split between the partners;

50/50, 70/30 or any other division was less important in practice than whether or not both partners were satisfied with the division of power and duties. If they were unable to achieve a comfortable balance that both partners were content with, trouble could arise.

The marriage of Melisende, the heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and her husband, Fulk of Anjou, demonstrates the necessity of reaching a power-sharing agreement that both spouses were comfortable with. Although Melisende was the clearly named heir to the kingdom, her husband had been jointly selected by Melisende's father Baldwin II and the nobility of the kingdom as her consort. Given the fact that the Kingdom of Jerusalem had never been subject to female rule and had a background of elected rulers, there was a clear expectation, which had been part of the negotiations for the marriage, that Fulk would rule as an elected king and was not merely Melisende's consort. However, on his deathbed Baldwin II made it clear that he left the rule of the kingdom to both his daughter and his son-in-law was a radical alteration to the original agreement with Fulk, which had assured him of an unmitigated right to succeed.³⁷

In the early years of their reign, it appears that Fulk did attempt to minimize Melisende's role and a rift appeared between the royal couple, which was demonstrated most clearly in the revolt of Hugh of Jaffa, the queen's kinsman and rumored lover.³⁸ The revolt deepened the rift between the couple and divided the court into factions to the point where "even the king found that no place was entirely safe among the kindred and partisans of the queen."³⁹ There have been many suggestions for the motivation for this insurrection, both personal and political, although it is the political stimulus that is of more interest to the current discussion. One of the underlying issues was the alienation of many of the barons who had strong Norman connections (including Hugh of Jaffa), who were displeased by Fulk's desire to fill important positions at court with Angevins.⁴⁰ However, the noted Crusades scholar Hans Mayer proposed that the key aim of the revolt was that in "restoring the queen to the share in the joint rule which was hers in her father's will," Hugh and his followers were defending the rights of Melisende, rightful heir and the ostensible coruler, who had been pushed aside by her husband.⁴¹ Moreover, Mayer claims that the mediatory role that the church played in the whole affair demonstrated their support of Melisende.⁴²

While the court may indeed have been angered by the placement of Angevins in important positions, the end result of the upheaval seems to indicate that Melisende's rights were at the heart of the

affair. After realizing the depth of support that Melisende possessed as the rightful heiress of the kingdom, Fulk radically changed his behavior toward her. William of Tyre remarked that Fulk became positively uxorious and “not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance.”⁴³ After Fulk changed his behavior toward his wife and allowed her a greater role in the administration and rule of the realm, the couple’s rule was much more harmonious and their personal relationship appeared to benefit as well, as Melisende reputedly showed genuine evidence of grief on Fulk’s accidental death in 1143.⁴⁴

An excellent example of the devastating fallout that could occur when a ruling pair could not construct a functional partnership due to a collapse in personal relations is the struggle between Urraca of Castile and her former husband, Alfonso I of Aragon, in the early twelfth century. The two spouses, both sovereign rulers in their own right, were unable to develop a workable political partnership as their marriage was poisoned by disapproval from the pope and their respective nobles and there was a complete lack of personal chemistry. Instead of uniting Castile, León, Navarre, and Aragon as Urraca’s father intended, the disastrously unhappy match resulted in a devastating war between the two spouses.⁴⁵

These examples demonstrate that it was critically important that reigning queens reach an understanding with their consorts on who would rule or, more importantly, how they would rule together. With traditional divisions of duties and responsibilities in a ruling couple called into question by the woman’s position as rightful sovereign, these unusual monarchical pairs had to redefine the accepted gendered roles of “king” and “queen.” Effectively, all the normal duties and prerogatives of the sovereign and their spouse had to be pooled and reallocated in a manner which both spouses were comfortable with. The most effective example of this strategy was the marriage of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, which managed to successfully achieve the goal of unifying the kingdoms of Spain, which their ancestors Urraca and Alfonso had so catastrophically failed to do three centuries earlier. Although the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand was initially controversial, their partnership was successful on a personal as well as a political level as they were able to negotiate a clear balance of power through a carefully crafted agreement that delineated their respective powers and position; this harmonious marital balance was reflected in their motto *Tanto monta, monta tanto-Isabel como Fernando*.⁴⁶

However, defining the exact duties of a medieval ruler, male or female, is somewhat difficult. Although there is no equivalent of a modern job or person specification, the rich body of literature often referred to as “mirror for princes” gives us an understanding of the expectations of the role. In his classic article “The Perfect Prince,” Lester Born evaluates and summarizes the advisory guides of the High Middle Ages:

In summary, we may say that the perfect prince of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must be wise, self-restrained, just; devoted to the welfare of his people; a pattern in virtues for his subjects; interested in economic developments, an educational program, and the true religion of God; surrounded by efficient ministers and able advisers; opposed to aggressive war; and in the realization that even he is subject to law, and through the mutual need of the prince and his subjects, zealous for the attainment of peace and unity.⁴⁷

What emerges from this description of ideals is the image of the ruler as the arbiter of justice, defender of the realm, and promoter of peace, looking out for his subjects’ spiritual, educational, and economic welfare. The other major theme is the expectation that the ideal ruler will serve as a virtuous example to the citizenry of the realm and will surround him or potentially herself with able and upright advisers. The idea of modeling virtue becomes even more important when dealing with the description of the ideal medieval queen. Rather than define what a queen was expected to do, medieval treatises tended to focus on how a queen should act. The *Speculum Dominarum*, which was dedicated to the first ruling Queen of Navarre, Juana I, by her confessor, Durand de Champagne, stresses the need for the queen to be humble, docile, sober, chaste, modest, silent, and subject to her husband.⁴⁸ The *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X claims that a queen needs four qualities: she must be from a good family, beautiful, comport herself well, and be wealthy. Alfonso argued that all these qualities will benefit the king and, more importantly, ensure that the queen produces children of the highest possible quality to ensure the succession and the continuation of the king’s line.⁴⁹ The fifteenth-century work *The Game and Playe of Chesse* shows a remarkably similar image of the ideal queen:

a Quene ought to be chaste. wyse. of honest peple/
well manerd and not curyous in nourisshynge of her children/

her wyfedom ought not only tappere in feet
and werkes but also in spekyng that is to wete that she be secrete and
telle not suche thynges as ought to be holden secrete/.⁵⁰

However, these descriptions do not clearly indicate what the queen's functions are beyond the bearing and raising of children. Durand of Champagne does allude to the queen's limited role within the sphere of justice as an intercessor, a role with biblical precedent from the story of Esther.⁵¹

These descriptions of the expectations of the ideal, highly gendered roles of "king" and "queen" demonstrate the difficulty for a ruling queen and her consort. There is little possibility for a complete role reversal as there were some key areas that would be considered completely untenable for the opposite gender to appropriate. A king consort was physically incapable of bearing children, and although fathers were expected to have an interest in the education of their children, they would not be expected to supervise the royal nursery. The queen regnant's husband would be expected to advise his wife, but the idea of staging an emotional intercession in the manner of Philippa of Hainault as described by Froissart would be both emasculating and potentially abhorrent to a king consort.⁵²

For a female ruler, many of the roles of a sovereign were perfectly feasible for her to perform including meting out justice, promoting peace, and caring for the welfare of her subjects. However, it was considered inappropriate for a woman to be directly involved in warfare. Even defenders of gynecocracy, such as Thomas Craig, acknowledged this key difficulty for female sovereigns:

It belongs not to a Woman to raise an Army, to exercise Souldiers, or lead them on against an Enemy, or give the signal to Battel, shou'd she do it, 'twould be abhorred as a Bad Omen. And yet if a Woman be the only Heiress of a Kingdom, she must preside in Military and Civil affairs, in all Councils and Deliberations.⁵³

However, there is a biblical precedent for a female ruler to be a successful war leader. In Judges 5, the Israelite judge Deborah leads her people to victory, with the assistance of Barak, and the Bible praises her military actions.⁵⁴ Kelly DeVries has commented on Deborah's effective strategy of seizing the high ground before the battle and forcing her enemies into a position where they could be easily destroyed by her own forces.⁵⁵

There are also examples of women who performed military functions as a ruler in the Middle Ages. Antonia Fraser's study of female military exploits encompasses female sovereigns such as Matilda of Tuscany, the Empress Matilda (heir to Henry I of England), Isabel of Castile, and Tamar of Georgia whom Fraser uses as an exemplar of a "Warrior Queen" noting her "flair for military strategy" and how she marched with her army, haranguing them before battles.⁵⁶ However, even though she obviously had some military ability, Queen Tamar of Georgia had been forced into her first marriage to the Russian Prince Iuri Bogoliubskii "explicitly in order to secure a leader for the army."⁵⁷ This marriage lasted only two years, from 1185 to 1187, and although Iuri was successful on the battlefield, on the personal front the marriage appears to have been an unmitigated disaster.⁵⁸ Tamar cut her losses and chose a second husband, Prince David Soslani from nearby Ossetia. This pairing was a far more successful venture as Prince David was a helpful and cooperative partner who "energetically supported the imperialistic policy of his wife."⁵⁹ Together, Tamar and David were able to expand Georgia through a series of successful military campaigns and quell any uprisings in her realm. Their victories and David's military prowess were celebrated by a contemporary poet who likened him to the fabled King David of biblical times.⁶⁰ Overall, it is important to note that although some women, like Tamar, did take on some military duties, these women are exceptional examples, and the medieval expectation that a ruler was also the leader of the army was a difficult criterion for queens regnant to satisfy, one that was expected perhaps to be left to their king consort.

One way to clarify the roles of both queen and consort in order to avoid potential conflict was by making the rights and duties of each partner explicit in the marital contract. Given the complete lack of clarity regarding the position of both reigning queens and consort kings, it was important to define the role that the consort was expected, or conversely not expected, to play in the governance of his wife's kingdom. However, forcing a consort to adhere to this agreement after the queen's accession was another matter entirely. In cases where a queen was married before her accession, agreements could be drafted at the time of the coronation, which clearly define the role of the king consort both during his wife's reign and after her death. Most of the queens of Navarre had either a marital or a coronation agreement with their king consort that spelled out their respective rights and responsibilities.

Each of the queens regnant and kings consort of Navarre had to build an effective personal and political partnership in order to rule the realm effectively. They had to decide how to divide the responsibilities of rulership, share power, and execute their roles in a way that would be satisfactory to themselves and fit in with their contemporaries' gendered expectations of appropriate behavior. An added complication is that all five of the couples in this survey had to balance the governance of Navarre with the patrimony of the king consort. This effectively doubled the roles that the couple needed to play; for example, the first Navarrese queen, Juana I, was concurrently Queen regnant of Navarre, sovereign countess of Champagne and Brie, and the queen consort of France. The challenge of being an able female sovereign and fulfilling the expectations of the ideal consort queen was formidable.

This study will chronologically survey the reign of each of the queens regnant of Navarre, with particular attention to the difficulties of female succession, the impact of matrimonial alliances, and will evaluate her personal and political partnership with her consort. These five monarchical pairs developed three distinctive types of power-sharing strategies in their attempt to govern Navarre and the consort's patrimony effectively. These strategies will be introduced and evaluated in the surveys of the queens' reigns, and the study will finish with a comparative analysis of the effectiveness of the partnership strategies and the overall impact of the rule of female sovereigns and their consorts on the kingdom of Navarre.

Sources

Fortunately, there is an ample selection of well-preserved primary source material for Navarrese history during the period of this study. The *Gobierno de Navarra* has generously supported the *Archivo General de Navarra* (referred to hereafter as the AGN), in Pamplona, including funding a massive program of renovation at the turn of the millennium to the medieval building where the archives are located in order to create a state-of-the-art facility. The Navarrese place a special emphasis on the medieval era as the period when the country was an independent, sovereign nation, which has in turn led to a high level of funding for archival work and scholarship in this area.

The preservation rate for materials from the medieval realm is excellent, and the AGN has not only thoroughly catalogued but also fully digitized its holdings creating an invaluable aid to research.

Most of the relevant documentation for royal agency and activity during this period can be found within the records of the *Cámara de Comptos*, which was the department that primarily dealt with royal expenditure and mandates. The records of the *Comptos* include registers, ledgers of expenses and documents such as royal requests and charters. In addition, there are also some relevant records for the queens, which can be found in the *Codices*, *Papeles Sueltos*, and the general *Registros*. In particular, the *Codices* contain the majority of the records for Philip III of France while he was administering the realm during Juana I's minority. Finally, the AGN holds a collection of early nineteenth-century copies of selected archival documents made by José Yanguas y Miranda; some of these are the only surviving versions of important documents, and his copies can also provide more legible versions of damaged originals.⁶¹

The *Gobierno de Navarra* has also funded a publishing program for collections of primary source material that are an invaluable aid to scholars of Navarrese history. Many of these compilations are available in the United Kingdom, primarily in the Bodleian, the British Library, and the IHR collection. These include series such as *Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco*, which have selected texts reproduced in their entirety and the multivolume *Catálogo de la sección de comptos*, which provides a summary of royal documentation including the address clause, date, place, and signature.⁶²

In addition to the main archives in Pamplona, there are several other civil and monastic archives, and within the last five years collections have been published from both the archives in Estella, Tafalla, and Olite.⁶³ Religious archives include the substantial collection of the Cathedral of Pamplona and the monastery of La Oliva.⁶⁴ There are also several useful collections of related primary source material, including surveys of medieval Navarrese seals and coinage, which provide useful evidence of the public image of the queens and the power-sharing dynamic with their consorts.⁶⁵ Other interesting collections include compilations of material produced in regional languages, including Occitan and Gascon.⁶⁶ It is important to note that the primary documentation of the realm reflects its multicultural heritage and the multitude of influences that it was subject to from periods of French rule, as well as the combination of languages spoken both within the realm and by its neighbours. Intriguingly, although today most signage in Navarre is produced in both Basque and Castellano, the Basque language does not feature in the official documentation of the realm during the period of this

study. However, documents can be found in a wide variety of languages including the predominant *Romance Navarro*, French (in both the *Langue d'oïl* of northern France and the Romance variant), Latin, Castellano, Catalan, Occitan, and Gascon.

Due to the involvement of the Navarrese queens in their French territories and the prolonged period when the crowns of France and Navarre were intertwined, some of the documentation for the queens is distributed in the *Archives Nationale* in Paris and various regional archives, particularly the *Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques* in Pau. Some of this material has been published, including a few collections of material from French archives that are solely relevant to Navarre.⁶⁷ This material includes letters, treasury documentation, charters, treaties, and wills that provide useful evidence for this study.⁶⁸ In addition to this French material, there is also important evidence regarding the exercise of power and diplomatic relations in Spanish and Italian archives. This is particularly relevant for Blanca I, who spent several years as the Queen of Sicily, ruling the island kingdom alone on behalf of the Aragonese crown after the early death of her first husband.⁶⁹ Fortunately, much of the material from this period has been published, which has enabled the study of her political career and her relationship with both of her Aragonese husbands.⁷⁰

Beyond the surviving royal documentation, there are a number of important contemporary chronicles that have useful evidence regarding the events of the period and the perceptions of the queens themselves. Many of the most important chronicles have been published; some have been translated while others are available in their original language. In French many of the medieval chronicles have been widely published, including several in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. These have been useful sources for the reign of Juana I and the Capetian succession crisis in which Juana II was heavily involved.⁷¹

Several Spanish chronicles have also been important for this study, particularly with regard to diplomatic alliances and relations between Navarre and its Iberian neighbors.⁷² The most important of these chronicles is the excellent multivolume *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, written by Jerónimo Zurita.⁷³ Although ostensibly Zurita's work focuses on the history of Aragon, his coverage of wider Iberian events is thorough, balanced, and incredibly useful. Zurita was born in 1512, the year of the Navarrese annexation, and named as an official chronicler by the Cortes of Aragon in 1548. This means that

while he did not observe any of the events during the period of this study first hand, his accounts are well researched and very detailed, which is the reason why Zurita continues to be a key source for any student of medieval and Early Modern Iberian history.

The most important chronicle sources are those based exclusively on Navarre; these can be grouped into two typologies: the medieval chronicles and the works of Early Modern historians. The two major medieval chronicles that are used in this study are those by Garci Lopez de Roncesvalles and the famous chronicle of the Kings of Navarre written by Principe de Viana.⁷⁴ The chronicle of Garci Lopez de Roncesvalles was written primarily during the reign of Carlos III, during the early years of the fifteenth century. Garci Lopez had access to the court as he served as the treasurer of the realm from 1403 to the late 1420s.⁷⁵ Lopez expands somewhat on the brief genealogy of the Navarrese kings given by his predecessor Garcia de Eugui, but the chronicle does not contain a massive amount of detail.⁷⁶

However, the chronicle of the Principe de Viana, written during the mid-fifteenth century, has a more extensive coverage of the subject. It is a survey of Navarrese history, beginning in the Classical era and ending with the accession of his grandfather Carlos III, rather than a chronicle of current events. Considering his own pivotal role in Navarrese history, it is unfortunate that he did not document his own experience of the internal crisis sparked by his own struggle to claim his rights from his domineering father. Although the Principe has been widely hailed for his scholarship, given his position as a royal family member, he is bound to be slightly biased toward a favorable representation of his ancestors. Although it has been noted that the chronicle is not free from errors, the strength of the work is the fact that the Principe drew on several earlier medieval chronicles from across Iberia in order to construct a robust narrative that enfoldes Navarrese history within the wider Iberian context.⁷⁷

The sixteenth century saw the emergence of several major chronicles of Navarrese history, which may have been inspired by the dramatic events of the recent annexation in 1512. Most of these works were written in Spanish, although Arnaldo Oihenart chose Latin for his work, *Noticia utriusque Vasconiae*.⁷⁸ While Oihenart and his contemporaries Estaban de Garibay, Garcia Gongora y Torreblanca, and Avalos de la Piscina have been consulted for this study, the work of Jose de Moret has provided the most important support for this investigation.⁷⁹

Moret was a Jesuit historian who was working in the mid- to late seventeenth century and was named as the first officially appointed chronicler of Navarre in 1654.⁸⁰ His multivolume compendium of Navarrese history, completed by his successor Francisco de Aleson, is an impressive account.⁸¹ Moret's passion for the history of his country shows throughout his work, especially in his lengthy commentaries in the footnotes. He is aware of his own bias, and although he is opinionated, he also appears to work hard to maintain a balanced narrative of events.

In addition to these Iberian works there were also a few French historians working on Navarrese history in the Early Modern period. These include Pierre Olhagaray's 1609 work *Histoire de Foix, Béarn et Navarre* and Andre Favyn's *Histoire de Navarre*. The latter work was published slightly later in 1612, shortly after the death of Henri IV of France, also known as Henri de Navarre.⁸² Henri was born in Pau, and as the heir of the dynasty of Foix-Béarn he never forgot that he had a claim on the Iberian kingdom of Navarre through his great-grandmother, Catalina. Indeed, the Navarrese crest formed part his own heraldic devise, and his descendants, the Bourbon dynasty, continued to claim the Navarrese title. Olhagaray's work was dedicated to Henri IV, and Favyn's work was also likely to have been inspired by the royal connection to Navarre. These French authors provide a different perspective on events, and Favyn's work is also useful as it contains transcripts of key documents within his narrative.

Zurita, Moret, and Favyn form the most important Early Modern sources in this study. These three historians have been particularly valuable because of the high level of detail and description that they provide. Moreover, the combination of Aragonese, Navarrese, and French historians provides a useful variety of perspectives on events that form an excellent basis for comparison and analysis.

Indeed, this study is intended as a comparative analysis of the reigns of the queens regnant of Navarre. Each of the queens will be examined in turn, drawing in examples of other relevant queens and rulers where relevant before concluding with an evaluation of how the reigns of these female monarchs illuminate the key themes of the book: succession, the impact of marital alliances and matrimonial diplomacy on the fate of the realm, and the partnership of the queens and their kings consort.

CHAPTER 2

JUANA I: THE VACANT THRONE

The reign of Juana I was a somewhat inauspicious beginning for the series of queens regnant who ruled Navarre in the Middle Ages. Juana was extremely fortunate to retain her crown as she faced a series of challenges to her rule including her infant accession, predatory neighbors on all sides who sought to annex her kingdom and protest from her subjects at her prolonged absence and the unpopular foreign governors who ruled in her name. Juana managed to surmount these obstacles through the military and political support of her maternal and marital relations and the loyalty of her subjects who supported her rights as the legitimate heiress of the Champenois dynasty. As a female ruler, she left an ambivalent impression. Although it is difficult to discern her agency in her own realm, there is evidence that she was an active Countess of Champagne and Brie. In contrast with her somewhat mixed record as a sovereign, Juana left behind a legacy as a beloved queen consort of France who served as a model of medieval queenship and engaged in literary and religious patronage.

The Infant Heiress

Three key factors brought Juana I to the throne before she had reached her second birthday in 1274: the provision of the *Fueros*, the weight of precedent, and the untimely deaths of three men. The *Fueros* of Navarra expressly permit the succession of females to the throne in default of male heirs.¹ The overall preference expressed in the *Fueros* was for direct, legitimate line inheritors, male or female, which gave a monarch's daughters precedence over uncles or illegitimate brothers. The specific allowance for female heirs to the throne in the *Fueros* enabled the high density of female succession in the realm during the medieval period.

The *Fueros* were a compilation of ancient customs, rights, and privileges that formed the legal foundation of the realm, described

by Rachel Bard as the “Mirror of Medieval Navarra.”² Ironically, it was the advent of two “foreign” rulers who encouraged the further development of the code: the arrival of Thibault of Champagne in 1234 prompted the largely unwritten laws to be compiled in a written document, and the reign of Juana II and her consort Philip d’Evreux saw the renovation and *amejoramiento* of the *Fueros*. The *Fueros* were crucial to establishing the powers of the sovereign and the laws of succession to the throne as well as inheritance to land and property at every societal level.³ In addition to the clause that permitted female succession, the *Fueros* allowed for women to inherit on a wider scale, either in the absence of male heirs or as a designated heir in her family.⁴

Inheritance laws generally formed the basis for succession practices, and most of the laws that formed the foundation of medieval and feudal custom allowed for female inheritance if there was a lack of suitable male heirs.⁵ There is also a clear precedent for female inheritance in the Bible. In Numbers 27, Moses was called upon to make a judgment in the case of the inheritance of Salphaad, who died leaving five daughters and received divine guidance to allow the daughters to inherit the estate:

And the Lord said to him: The daughters of Salphaad demand a just thing. Give them a possession among their father’s kindred and let them succeed him in his inheritance. And to the children of Israel thou shalt speak these things: When a man dieth without a son, his inheritance shall pass to his daughter.⁶

The Visigothic Law, which set a precedent in Medieval Iberia, encouraged partible inheritance between male and female heirs; “If the father or mother should die intestate, the sisters shall have the property equally with their brothers.”⁷ Even the Law of the Salian Franks allowed for female inheritance to private property, it was only the “Salic Land” that was reserved for exclusively male inheritance.⁸

Basque laws of inheritance, which in turn influenced the drafting of the Navarrese *Fueros* and the customs of the Kingdom of Navarre on both sides of the Pyrenees, were even more favorable to the inheritance of women. In these customs, the eldest child would inherit the family property, regardless of the sex.⁹ Maïté Lafourcade argues, “A woman was not incapable, weak, and inexperienced who needed to be protected as in Roman law, she was, in Basque law, juridically the equal of man, with the same rights as him.”¹⁰ The right to inherit

property also gave Basque women the opportunity to participate in religious and political activities as the representative of the household in local assemblies on both sides of the Pyrenees.¹¹ In the Benasque valley area of the Basque country, evidence of matrilineal inheritance practices and matronymic designation have been discovered, demonstrating the centrality of women in local culture and customs that not only allowed, but sometimes favored female inheritance.¹²

Although inheritance practices in Navarre were generally favorable to women, it is also important to examine the overall situation regarding female succession in the medieval period. During the Early Middle Ages, particularly before the twelfth century, succession practices were in a state of flux and development. As Marjorie Chibnall notes, succession practices were still being worked out pragmatically, and a mix of law and custom were employed in the development of succession schemes.¹³ An early preference for election was gradually shifting toward hereditary principles, perhaps influenced, as John Carmi Parsons suggests, by a desire on the part of the church for orderly succession practices.¹⁴ Although this shift toward hereditary principles tended to favor male heirs, particularly as the practice of primogeniture became more prevalent after the twelfth century, it also enabled female succession as the preference for dynastic continuity often took precedence over the installation of an unrelated male candidate for the throne.¹⁵ Primogeniture could also be problematic; Theresa Earenfight claims it “worked only when nature cooperated with an ample provision of healthy sons who survived to adulthood” and these conditions could be relatively rare in the Middle Ages given the fairly hazardous conditions surrounding childbirth, infant mortality, disease, and later the potential death of older male heirs in combat.¹⁶

However, an additional factor that enabled female succession is precedent. Before the succession of the first female sovereign of Navarre, Juana I in 1274, there were several examples of reigning queens who could have set a precedent for female rule. The twelfth century had several important examples, including Urraca of León-Castile (1109–26), Petronilla of Aragon (1137–62), Constance of Sicily (1194–98), Melisende of Jerusalem (1131–61), and her granddaughters Sibylla (1186–90) and Isabella (1190–1205). Both Urraca and Melisende were vigorous and active rulers, even though neither reign was without controversy. Both women struggled against rivals who aimed to unseat them; Urraca fought a destructive war against her ex-husband, Alfonso of Aragon, while Melisende’s refusal to hand

power over to her son also led to a civil war.¹⁷ However, the twelfth century also contained a negative precedent for female succession in the Empress Matilda's failure to claim the English throne despite being her father's clearly designated heir.¹⁸

The thirteenth century saw few reigning queens. In the troubled Kingdom of Jerusalem, Maria of Montferrat followed her mother to become the third queen regnant in a row (1205–12) and left an infant daughter, Yolande, to succeed her. Neither woman was able to regain the city of Jerusalem or exercise power effectively in her own right. In Iberia, the right of Berenguela of Castile to succeed her father, Alfonso VIII, was recognized in 1217, but she did not rule alone in her own right, though she did have considerable power and influence during the reign of her son, Fernando III.¹⁹ Sancha and Dulce of León were also unsuccessful claimants despite their father, Alfonso IX's desire to see them succeed at his death in 1230.²⁰ Ironically, a key factor in their failure to claim the Leónese throne was the opposition of Berenguela of Castile, who actively promoted the claim of her son, Fernando III, over that of his elder half-sisters.²¹

Despite the mixed success of the ruling queens and royal heiresses who preceded Juana I of Navarre in 1274, there was a significant precedent for women to inherit the throne. In addition, although there had not yet been a queen regnant in Navarre, there was a precedent for the inheritance of the throne through the female line. Teobaldo I successfully claimed the Navarrese throne in 1234 through the right of his mother, Blanca, sister of Sancho *el Fuerte*. If Blanca had not died a few years earlier in 1229, it is possible that she may have inherited the throne herself as the next claimant in the direct line. Moreover, at the time of Teobaldo's accession in 1234, his acknowledged heir was his own daughter Blanca, who remained as the heiress to both Navarre and Champagne until the birth of her brother in 1238. These precedents, coupled with the generally favorable laws and customs of female inheritance and succession, particularly in the Basque country, were all enabling factors for the first female sovereign of Navarre.

Although law, custom, and precedent are all necessary enablers for female succession, it is important not to underestimate situational factors. Put simply, even with the aforementioned enabling factors, a woman cannot succeed to the throne unless there is a lack of male heirs to provide her with the opportunity. The accession of the infant Juana I, in 1274, was the result of several tragic incidents that occurred in a short span of time, creating a lack of male heirs.

Juana's uncle, Teobaldo II, died in 1270 while on the doomed second crusade of Louis IX of France. With no heirs to succeed him, the throne passed to Juana's father, Enrique I. As Enrique was a young man with a wife and children, who had been governing in Teobaldo's absence, the future of the dynasty seemed assured. However, Enrique's young son Teobaldo died in a tragic accident in 1273, falling out of a castle window, which meant that the last surviving heir of the House of Champagne was an infant girl, Juana.²² After her brother's death, Juana was confirmed as heir apparent, by her father the king and by the estates of the kingdom, unless a male heir was born to replace her.²³

However, before Enrique had the chance to sire a male heir to replace Juana, the king himself died, on July 22, 1274.²⁴ Unsurprisingly, the death of two sovereigns within five years coupled with the accession of an infant girl triggered a political maelstrom. The Navarrese chronicler Moret argued that the death of Enrique had a wide-ranging impact that "moved and disturbed not only Navarre but all the kingdoms of Spain and France."²⁵

A Surfeit of Matrimonial Alliances

Juana's mother, Blanche of Artois, initially tried to hold the situation together as regent, but as pressure mounted from Aragon and Castile, she quickly fled to the relative safety of the court of her cousin Philip III of France. Moret insinuates that her departure was somewhat underhand, on the pretext of checking up on the state of her daughter's Champenois territories and affirming their loyalty to the queen, when she was truly intending to parley with Philip of France.²⁶ The exact date that the queen regent fled the kingdom is unclear, however it must have been after the middle of August as Blanche issued a charter from Pamplona on August 14.²⁷ The queen regent must have arrived in France by early November as she issued two charters dated November 14 from Vincennes that render homage to Philip III, presumably for Juana's French possessions, which included the rich counties of Champagne and Brie.²⁸

However, although Juana and her mother were safely ensconced in France, this did not mean that her throne was secure. Blanche's near-immediate departure had left the throne unprotected and left a power vacuum in Pamplona. As Béatrice Leroy noted, with the death of Enrique I, the flight of the regent and the absence of the young queen herself, "Navarre was without a king, and (ripe) for the

taking.”²⁹ Both Castile and Aragon were keen to annex the Pyrenean kingdom, through force or by marriage. France and England were just as keen to prevent this from happening. As Jose Maria Lacarra rightly noted, “The key piece in this game was the marriage of Queen Juana.”³⁰ Even though Juana was only a toddler, all four kings made an attempt to secure Navarre through a marriage to the young queen.

Edward I of England was the first to stake a claim, by contracting an English betrothal for Juana almost immediately after she became the heiress to Navarre. Documentary evidence shows that an early betrothal was contracted between the infant Juana of Navarre and Henry, the son of Edward I of England in December 1273.³¹ At this point, both children were the heirs to their parents’ respective kingdoms, and their position is clearly laid out in the opening paragraphs. Henry is described as the eldest son and heir, while the King of Navarre confirmed Juana as the heir to his throne and his French counties of Champagne and Brie.³² Moreover, the contract contained a provision for an alternative monetary dowry for Juana if her father sired a son who would replace her in the line of succession. This contract had an interesting precedent in a proposed match between Alfonso, the heir to Castile and Blanca, the heiress of Teobaldo I of Navarre in 1234, which also contained stipulations to address the future rule of Navarre and the possible scenarios for succession if Teobaldo sired other heirs, or Blanca died without issue.³³ Finally, to ensure that Juana was firmly bound, an alternative groom, the infant Alfonso, was named as a substitute if his older brother died before the marriage could take place. In addition, the contract stipulated the necessary assent of the King of France, as he was the overlord of both Edward of England and Enrique of Navarre for their French territorial possessions.³⁴ Given the fact that this marriage would have given the young couple a sizeable amount of territory in France, besides combining their respective crowns, the assent of the French monarch could not be assumed.

It is not surprising that Edward sought the young heiress for his son as an Iberian connection was potentially useful and Edward himself was married to Eleanor of Castile. More importantly, Navarre’s strategic position adjacent to England’s Continental possessions in Gascony meant that it would be a useful and important ally. The need to cement this connection through marriage had already resulted in the match between Edward’s great-uncle Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre in 1191. Navarre and her important French counties of Champagne and Brie would be a major boost to England’s territorial

possessions and would greatly increase the pressure on their long-time rival, the King of France. F. Darwin Swift also noted Edward's desire to thwart the French king's campaign to secure the overlordship from Aragon of several key counties in the south of France, including Navarre's neighbor, Foix.³⁵

Intriguingly, this marriage contract was connected to another proposed Anglo-Iberian match. Only two months previously, on October 9, Edward had signed an agreement with Pedro of Aragon for a marital alliance between their respective children.³⁶ In contrast to the detailed agreement with Navarre, the Aragonese document was somewhat vague and did not name a specific child on either side although it did stipulate that it would be for a son of Edward's and one of Pedro's daughters. Considering that Edward's first son John had died in 1271, it is reasonable to assume that the intended bridegroom was his only surviving son, Henry. However, Eleanor of Castile bore another son, Alfonso, in November 1273. It is possible that Alfonso's birth offered a way to commit Henry to a marriage with Juana of Navarre while still honoring the vague terms of the Aragonese contract. Alfonso died in 1284, but his sister Eleanor was committed to a marriage with Pedro's son, Alfonso III of Aragon. Ironically, the Aragonese prince died during the marriage celebrations, and the proposed marital connection between England and Aragon failed to materialize.

Nor did the marriage between Navarre and England come to fruition. This can be attributed to two major factors: the death of the intended bridegroom, Henry, on October 16, 1274, and the political turmoil that was triggered by the young queen's accession.

Navarre's predatory Iberian neighbors were keen to advance their own tenuous claims to the Navarrese throne. Indeed, within days of Enrique's death, Jaime I of Aragon issued a proclamation aimed at the Navarrese nobility, which justified his own candidacy, in attempt to reunite the two realms.³⁷ This claim had support from a group of clerics and nobles headed by Pedro Sánchez Montegudo who pledged to support Pedro, the son of Jaime of Aragon, when he arrived in Navarre.³⁸ Shortly afterward, a marriage between Juana and the Infante Alfonso was also proposed. Although the Aragonese had strong pretensions to the throne and a history of union with Navarre during the late eleventh and early twelfth century, a marriage was the key element that would solidify their claim and make a union truly valid.³⁹ The Aragonese annalist Zurita describes numerous matrimonial possibilities that were put forth to bind Aragon and Navarre if

the proposed marriage to the infant queen was refused. The alternative Navarrese brides for Alfonso of Aragon included

one of the daughters of the sisters of (king) Enrique, or the daughter of Jean de Bretagne, nephew of the same king Enrique—whose mother was dona Blanca daughter of king Teobaldo I and his second wife who was the daughter of Guiscard de Beljoc and Sibilla daughter of Philip count of Flanders; if Alfonso should die one of those (women) could marry don Jaime the second son of the Infante who would succeed to the throne if his brother died before marriage.⁴⁰

Castile could not afford to ignore the opportunity to capitalize on Navarre's apparent weakness or the possibility that the realm may be reunited with their rival Aragon. Moret claimed that King Alfonso X of Castile "hearing of the death of King Enrique and the crown of Navarre coming to the head of a little girl, thought it would be easy to snatch it from her."⁴¹ Alfonso's desire to wrest the throne of Navarre from Enrique's daughter may have also been motivated by Enrique's support of a recent rebellion in Castile, which had been led by Alfonso's brother.⁴² Consequently, Fernando de la Cerda, the son of the Castilian king, was put forward as an alternative claimant and arrived with an army at the walls of Viana in September.⁴³ In addition, the King of Castile sought papal approval for a marriage between one of his grandsons and the infant Queen of Navarre.⁴⁴ Juana's elder brother, Teobaldo, had been intended for the Infanta Violante of Castile, but these plans had been destroyed by his early death.⁴⁵ Unsurprisingly, given the deterioration in relations between Enrique of Navarre and Alfonso X of Castile, Enrique had not arranged a Castilian marriage for his daughter.

There was also the possibility that Edward of England would press the queen mother to honor the terms of the English betrothal with the designated substitute, Alfonso. With matrimonial offers from England, Castile, and Aragon on the table and Castilian armies threatening the frontiers, the queen mother Blanche looked for an alternative option and help from her cousin, Philip III of France. The *Principe de Viana* paints a romantic picture of the arrival of Blanche and Juana at the French court in his chronicle, claiming that the French king received the young Juana "graciously and willingly."⁴⁶ The *Principe* claims that Philip knew that she was looking for a marriage to a "great man" and "considering the excellence of her lineage" decided to marry his heir to the young queen. The reality was likely

to have been less courtly and more of a practical exchange. Philip was willing to protect the interests of the infant queen if she became his daughter-in-law. This would give the French king a strategic base in Iberia and access to the rich counties of Champagne and Brie, while it ensured that Juana would receive the military and political support that she needed in order to retain her throne.

The Treaty of Orleans, in May 1275, included a marriage agreement between one of Philip III's sons (Louis or Philip) and the young queen that would eventually unite the crowns of France and Navarre. However, this was not necessarily the original intent. The marital agreement noted that if Juana married the son who did not inherit the French throne, she would be assigned additional revenues of 4000 livres as compensation.⁴⁷ Pope Gregory X specifically indicated a preference for Philip, the younger son, perhaps to avoid the merger of the thrones of France and Navarre.⁴⁸ However, the elder son, Louis, died in 1276 leaving Philip as the heir to the throne and the only possible bridegroom, which paved the way for the union of the French and Navarrese crowns.

Into the French Orbit

The Navarrese demonstrated their loyalty to their young female sovereign and her mother from the moment of Enrique I's death. Almost immediately after the queen's accession, on August 27, 1274, the representatives of the *Buenas Villas*, or major towns of the realm, signed a proclamation that declared their support for the widowed Queen Blanche as regent for her young daughter and the governor appointed to rule during her absence.⁴⁹ The inhabitants of Viana demonstrated their loyalty to Queen Juana in their successful efforts to repulse the Castilian army by making conditions too inhospitable for the invaders to remain.⁵⁰ The queen regent issued a charter that granted special privileges to the inhabitants of Viana in gratitude for their loyalty and defense of the city.⁵¹ However, this loyalty was tested by the pressure from Castile and Aragon and the arrival of foreign governors to administer the realm following the queen's betrothal to a French prince.

Significantly, this marriage meant that the Pyrenean kingdom would now be administered from Paris, through a series of governors appointed initially by the queen mother Blanche and later by Philip III on behalf of his young daughter-in-law. Naturally, this was hardly an ideal state of affairs, and it ran contrary to the wishes and interests of most of the nobility and the citizenry of the realm.⁵²

Juana I never had a formal coronation in Navarre. Instead, the French governor and his officials systematically toured the realm to collect oaths of homage to the young queen from the major towns and individual members of the nobility, particularly those who had castles and other fortifications as part of their holdings. The homage of the major towns was collected first, in May 1276. One such document, dated May 1276, from Juan Pérez and Salvador de la Renta as representatives of the municipal council of Olite, swears obedience to the new regime. In summary the document emphasizes that the council's loyalty is to the young queen, "the much honored lady Juana, our natural sovereign, Queen of Navarre" and offers their support for those appointed to rule in her name.⁵³ Moreover, the council's representatives not only lent their support to the new governor but also specifically approved of Juana's betrothal to the French prince.⁵⁴

Looking at these documents alone, however, would give a skewed sense of exactly how loyal the Navarrese were to the new French regime and how much they actually approved of the French marriage. Concurrent with the production of these documents in 1276 was a revolt, centered on the neighborhood of the Navarrería in Pamplona. Although there were many factors that led to the uprising, one of the most important issues underlying the conflict was divided opinion over who the young queen should marry, or more importantly, which neighbor Navarre should be most closely aligned to.⁵⁵ A powerful leader headed each faction; Sánchez de Montegudo favored the Aragonese candidacy while his rival García Almoravid championed the Castilian cause.⁵⁶ It is important to note that the French had no powerful champion bar the governor himself. Juana, even though or perhaps because she was far away in Paris, suffered a hit in popularity as the Pamplonese rebelled against the men who governed in her name. Manuel Iribarren notes the "insults and curses against the innocent sovereign and her representative the French governor."⁵⁷ However, in his chronicle, Carlos, the Principe de Viana, was keen to stress, perhaps because she was his ancestor, that "no one moved against the queen."⁵⁸

However, the queen's absence was clearly a key issue. The Navarrese were concerned about the continued absence of the queen and the administration of the realm by foreigners. The contemporary poet Guilhem d'Anelier expressed the sentiments of the Navarrese in his epic poem *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre*:

It had been so long, that we all became unhappy
Because for a year they had dispensed all power from Paris

And they had given the realm to strangers who impoverished us
And we would not allow them to ruin the realm
While our queen was being brought up in Champagne
And could not come to be here with her all her friends.⁵⁹

The King of France sent an army, headed by Juana's maternal uncle, Robert of Artois, to quell the uprising and defend the realm against the incursions of its Iberian neighbors. Philip III of France also set out for the Pyrenees in September 1276; however, by the time he reached Sauveterre in Béarn in November, Artois had already managed to pacify the situation and the king's presence was no longer critically needed.⁶⁰ Not only had Robert of Artois managed to suppress the revolt but also quite impressively over a four-day period between November 4 and 7, the French regime was able to extract 20 declarations of homage from the key nobles and castellans of the realm at Otieza and sign a peace treaty with the Castilians. Finally, in the spring of 1277, more declarations of homage were collected, and some of these appear to be reaffirmations from the castellans of several strategic castles, to confirm their loyalty after the revolt.

The French party had successfully gained control of the realm, but the citizens were not pleased about the heavy-handed manner in which they had achieved their aims. The church, in particular, protested about the damage the French had inflicted when they put down the revolt in the Navarrería.⁶¹ This led to a formal rebuke from Pope Nicolas III to Philip III of France on the matter.⁶²

The faction in Navarre that preferred an Aragonese betrothal and merger had suffered a crucial blow with the death of Jaime I shortly after the Treaty of Orleans was signed in 1275.⁶³ The Castilian faction was also on the back foot as the pope had expressed his displeasure about the aggressive stance that Castile had taken toward Navarre. The pope was not well disposed to Alfonso's request for a papal dispensation so that one of his grandsons could marry the infant queen or Alfonso's candidacy for the imperial throne.⁶⁴ Aragon was eventually forced to renounce their matrimonial interest in the Navarrese queen in 1277.⁶⁵

Castilian troops were mustered under Simón Ruiz de los Cameros to meet the French invasion by Juana's uncle Robert of Artois, but as previously noted, the Castilians were stopped at Monreal, and a truce was eventually declared until Juana's majority in the Treaty of Vitoria, signed on November 7, 1276.⁶⁶ The truce did not necessarily improve Navarre's position with regard to its Iberian neighbors,

who “repeatedly showed their animosity to the French presence in Navarre.”⁶⁷ With opposition to the French betrothal quelled, and Castile and Aragon forced to renounce their pretensions to the Navarrese throne and their matrimonial plans, there was nothing to prevent Juana’s eventual marriage to Philip of France in 1284. It is interesting to note the continuing divide in opinion over the marriage of Juana I. Many historians, operating with the benefit of hindsight and taking into account the negative effects that Capetian rule had on Navarre, have taken a somewhat dim view of the marriage, or more precisely the period of Capetian rule that followed.⁶⁸ José Javier López Antón has discussed the lasting impact of the Navarrería revolt and the way the event has been used in Navarrese historiography to indicate either the beginning of a period of French enslavement or a successful attempt to retain their independence from their aggressive Iberian neighbors.⁶⁹

However, not all historians have criticized Blanche of Artois’s decision to marry her daughter to a French prince. Pierre Narbaitz believes that her decision to opt for a French marriage was the best option, which ultimately preserved the sovereignty of the realm in the long term.⁷⁰ Even though the marriage resulted in dynastic union with France for nearly forty years, a marriage with either Castile or Aragon would have likely resulted in a more permanent merger.

From Minority to Majority

The kingdom of Navarre was administered on Juana’s behalf during her minority by her prospective father-in-law, Philip III, and the governors that he sent from Paris. Evidence from 1276 to 1280 shows a flurry of documents from Philip III with instructions for his governor in Pamplona, in some cases dispatches being sent nearly on a daily basis.⁷¹ These documents, though issued by the French king, carefully and consistently refer to the rightful sovereign, Juana, as a basis for their authority, naming the “young lady” as “queen and heir of the kingdom of Navarre.”⁷² Very few acts were issued directly in her own name; however, given her young age, this is not surprising. Even if she had remained in Navarre, either her mother or a council would have been ruling on her behalf during her minority. There are a few examples that are worded as if Juana herself were issuing a mandate, including one from 1277 and another from 1281, though given the fact that she would have been under the age of ten, it is

extremely unlikely that she had anything to do with the production of these documents.⁷³

However, as she grew older, Juana's impending majority put pressure on the young couple to wed in order to solidify the terms of the Treaty of Orleans, and it also raised questions over who would administer her Pyrenean realm and her wealthy counties of Champagne and Brie. While Philip III had managed Navarre through a team of governors and officials, Juana's mother, Blanche of Artois, had retained the administration of the county of Champagne. Shortly after her return to France, Blanche of Artois married Edmund of Lancaster, the recently widowed brother of Edward I of England.⁷⁴ Walter Rhodes suggests that Margaret of Provence, the French queen mother, ensured that her English nephew secured the wealthy Navarrese widow.⁷⁵ Trokelowe's *Annales* contains a different and slightly gossipy account of the marriage that describes Blanche's desirability and insinuates that the couple were keen to marry.⁷⁶

After their marriage, Edmund administered Champagne and Brie with his new wife. However, it appears that both the Champenois and Edmund of Lancaster were loath to let the French kings claim the county through Juana's impending marriage. Edmund queried the age at which Juana was supposed to have attained her majority, intending to retain the management and revenues of the country for as long as possible.⁷⁷ Indeed it may have been Edmund's defiance that provoked an inquest instigated by Philip III, in order to establish Juana's majority and position as the true countess beyond any doubt.

Philip III had many incentives to ensure that Juana retained the county and to dislodge the queen mother and her English husband as its governors. This important territory was the likely source of Philip III's motivation to secure the young heiress for his son, as J. R. Strayer notes,

Navarre had some strategic importance but produced little income; Champagne was even more important strategically and was immensely wealthy... A potential threat to the old royal domain was removed, a potential opening to the east was acquired, and royal revenues were substantially increased.⁷⁸

The Champenois counts had long been difficult vassals for the Kings of France due to their power, wealth, and close connections to the thrones of England and Jerusalem, as well as their assumption of the Navarrese crown.⁷⁹ Elizabeth Hallam described the counts of

Champagne as “dangerous rivals” for the Kings of France, due in part to their vast territory, which “almost encircled the royal principality” of the Ile de France.⁸⁰ Bringing the county of Champagne into the royal domain through marriage was a huge achievement for the Capetian kings, and they were understandably keen to gain control of the territory.

To affirm and secure Juana’s place as Countess of Champagne, an inquest was initiated in order to ascertain “the age of the heiress of Champagne and the custom of Champagne as to the age when a young woman (*domicella*) may do homage.”⁸¹ Champenois custom did allow for female inheritance; this had been codified in the thirteenth century, following a series of decrees on the subject of inheritance. Indeed a statute regarding female inheritance was issued in 1212 by Blanche of Navarre, the Countess regent of Champagne, the ancestor through whom Juana’s claim to the Navarrese throne derived. This document not only clearly states that females were eligible to inherit their father’s estates in the absence of male heirs, but also decrees how the property should be divided if the heiress has sisters.⁸² Theodore Evergates’s collection of Champenois documents also contains further decrees on inheritance that date more closely to Juana’s lifetime, including a statement of feudal inheritance customs and a decree on the age of feudal majority from 1278.⁸³ The latter document was issued after Juana’s arrival in France and betrothal to Philip, and it specifically mentions that while a male heir was required to do homage for the lands he inherited at fifteen years of age, a female heiress would do homage at eleven, “for a man is out of wardship at fifteen years and a woman at eleven years.”⁸⁴

It would certainly appear that this statute, coupled with the inquest on Juana’s age, would show an eagerness on the part of the French king to ensure that his daughter-in-law to be would have full control of her inheritance so that all of her titles and revenue would fall under Capetian control through her marriage to Philip.

The inquest compiled an impressive array of “witnesses” to testify to the birth of Juana, including the archdeacon of Blois, the marshal of Champagne, and several lesser nobles. Interestingly, they all seem to agree about the year (1273) and the location (Bar-sur-Seine) but the date itself varies from January 2nd up to a month later.⁸⁵ However, the key part of the inquest follows:

They were asked whether it was the custom of Champagne that a woman who completes her eleventh year and begins her twelfth may

do homage and receive homage from her vassals (*vassalis*). Monsieur Gilo of Bricon, knight, speaking for all the sworn and in their presence, said that it is the custom of the region of Champagne, and for the county itself, that a woman who has completed her eleventh year and begins her twelfth may do homage to her lords (*seigneurs*) and may receive homage [from her vassals]. So it has been in many cases without challenge, even though the woman has not completed her twelfth year. All who were sworn testified to this and agreed to it by their oaths.⁸⁶

Once the inquest validated Juana's right to fully come into her inheritance, she was married to Philip, four months later in August 1284. Edmund and Blanche had to give up the administration of the counties, but in compensation, they received a hefty settlement including various dower properties, 60,000 *livres tournois* and the continued use of the palace of the Kings of Navarre in Paris.⁸⁷

Countess of Champagne

Juana I transitioned smoothly into her majority due to the decision of the inquest coupled with her marriage in 1284 and her father-in-law's death the year after, which established her as the Queen of France and Navarre as well as Countess of Champagne and Brie. After gaining her majority and becoming the queen consort of France, the queen's address in administrative documents reflected her changed status. The first one issued after the regime change dropped the term "young lady" or *domicella* in favor of a more grown-up appellation.⁸⁸ However, this does not mean that the documents were issued solely in her name; rather they shifted from her father-in-law to her husband as the primary issuer.⁸⁹ Juana was still a part of the document as "our beloved consort" and gave her assent and seal, but there is no sense that she had taken over control of the issue of documents themselves.⁹⁰

Juana's position as Countess of Champagne and Brie was just as significant in many ways as her position as a royal sovereign, even though the title itself carried a lower rank. When Juana reached her majority in 1284, Philip III marked the event by receiving her personal homage for the county in Paris.⁹¹ The following year after her marriage, her new husband issued a decree of homage to his father, placing himself first as "first born (i.e. heir) of the King of France, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Count Palatinate of Champagne and Brie." Juana is listed later in the document as "our beloved

consort Johanne heiress of Champagne.”⁹² The remaining cartulary for the county of Champagne in Longnon’s compilation continues in this vein with Philip and his titles, even those held by right of his wife, taking precedence, followed with a mention of Juana as the rightful heir.

The question is whether this precedence was merely a formulaic convention or if it reflected the reality of the governance of the county. What is certain is that Juana’s marriage had a profound impact on the administration of the county. Champagne was not officially part of the royal possessions until 1361 and was supposed to be, as Hiroshi Takayama notes, “a county separate from the royal demesne since it was the inheritance of Queen Joan. In practice however, it was under the king’s control and governed by his officials.”⁹³ John F. Benton claims that Philip extended his control over the county by sending his own men “to be masters of the high court” and the county’s Exchequer, repeating the process that had bound Normandy to the French crown.⁹⁴ However, both he and his father were careful not to alienate the Champenois; Philip III did this by “being sensitive about usurping the authority” of the *Jours de Troyes* assemblage, and Philip IV followed suit by ensuring that his wife, the rightful countess, confirmed all his acts.⁹⁵ However carefully the French kings may have moved, their efforts to bind the county firmly into royal administration were quite successful as Benton notes, “by the end of Philip (IV’s) reign the Jours de Troyes had become even more a branch of Parlement than the Exchequer of Normandy.”⁹⁶

The fact that Champagne was being drawn into royal administration does not necessarily mean that Juana was excluded from its governance. Champagne had a history of being successfully governed by women including Marie de France and Blanca of Navarre, mother of Thibault, the first Champenois king of Navarre (Teobaldo I).⁹⁷ Intrigued by the common assumption that the queen was cut out of the administration of her county by the royal officials, Elisabeth Lalou investigated the extent to which Juana was involved in the governance of Champagne in her study of “*Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne 1285–1305*.”⁹⁸ She begins with a lengthy discussion of Juana’s assent for all documents of royal administration, as mentioned previously, asserting firmly that this is evidence of her acknowledged lordship over the territory: “The queen gave her accord for all that was the right of a feudal lord.”⁹⁹

In addition to this assent to royal administration, Lalou details the visits of the royal couple to Champagne, noting that in the

twenty years of her joint tenure as Queen of France and Countess of Champagne, they visited the county annually fourteen years running.¹⁰⁰ This was in sharp contrast to the couple's total absence from Navarre, despite Philip's journey to the Pyrenees with his father in 1285 and the couple's trip to the *Midi* in 1300.

While trips to the county and Juana's signature and seal do appear to provide some evidence of participation in the governance of Champagne, two dramatic episodes provide more direct and dramatic proof of her involvement and influence. Both episodes concern the treatment of troublesome vassals and neighbors, an obvious prerogative and duty of any sovereign ruler or lord. Juana's particular actions in these episodes were noted by her contemporaries and show a striking contrast to the more typical image of the queen as a quiet, submissive consort.

The first episode involves the invasion of Champagne by the Comte de Bar in 1297. This was a tactical invasion, made in concert with his ally the Count of Flanders, who was staging a concurrent uprising against Philip IV near Lille. According to several chronicles, the queen, as sovereign countess, responded to the emergency personally, rounding up several prominent nobles to support the armed response.¹⁰¹ The nearly identical accounts in the *Chronique Normande* and the chronicle of Jean Desnouelles stress the queen's physical presence "in her land" and desire to defend the county "so her land was not lost."¹⁰² Both accounts also specifically note that Juana was able to arrest the rebellious Comte without the need for battle and send him to prison in Paris, before joining her husband at Lille. However, Lalou cites an alternative version of the tale in a Flemish chronicle in which Juana gives battle to the Comte with her army and claims that this account gives Juana "the military image of a strong woman who accomplishes her seigniorial duty like a knight."¹⁰³ It is difficult to ascertain which accounts are more credible; the battle may have been added to embroider the Flemish account while it may have been omitted by the others as the image of the queen leading her troops to battle conflicted with expected behavior for a queen consort or even a sovereign countess. Either way, this episode does support Lalou's argument that "the queen was still mistress of her lands even if the king took charge of the administrative tasks."¹⁰⁴

The second episode, which highlights Juana's influence and persistence more than her military interest or ability, centers on Bishop Guichard of Troyes. Guichard's elevation had been due to the patronage of, first, Blanche of Artois and, then, Juana herself,

who was directly responsible for his appointment to the bishopric.¹⁰⁵ Abel Rigault who produced a thorough study of Guichard's career comments that he "was a creature of two queens, and that his fortunes, attached to these two women, followed and increased with her."¹⁰⁶ However, his relations with Juana soured when allegations of involvement with financial irregularities in the county of Champagne began to emerge.¹⁰⁷ Rigault suggests that there may have been some kind of understanding between the bishop and "his protectress," the queen, to allow him to hold back some of his revenues, but the queen's angry behavior seems to negate this suggestion.¹⁰⁸ An inquest was begun into the matter but the situation became even more enflamed with the death of Blanche of Artois in May 1302. Suddenly, the bishop was accused of poisoning the dowager queen in addition to his other crimes.¹⁰⁹ Juana, once his protectress, turned vengeful demanding a repayment of 40,000 *livres tournois*.¹¹⁰ Strayer claims that,

usually Jeanne was not so vindictive, but this case touched her personally. Her mother had been wronged; her income from her country of Champagne had been reduced by fraud; one of her own protégés had betrayed her.¹¹¹

Juana's own death in 1305 created even more problems for the beleaguered bishop. Instead of "being delivered from his worst enemies, the Queen of Navarre (Blanche) and the Queen of France (Juana)," Guichard was about to gain a more formidable adversary, the King of France.¹¹² The bishop was accused of causing Juana's "cruel" death by sorcery and of attempting to poison her sons, Louis and even Charles, who was his own godson.¹¹³ At this point the remaining prosecution, which ended with Guichard's exile from France, carried on far beyond the date of Juana's death, but the episode clearly demonstrates several key points; Juana's interest and involvement in the administration and finances of the county of Champagne, her power and influence in the French court, which enabled such a vindictive prosecution of Guichard, and the strength of her husband's feeling for her that he took over and amplified the prosecution of her former enemy after her death. Strayer confirms this view stating "Jeanne's untimely death shocked him... An explanation of Jeanne's premature death would help assuage his grief; vengeance on her murderer would be the last and most fitting tribute he could pay to her memory."¹¹⁴

Queen of Navarre

Although Juana's active involvement in the affairs of her county of Champagne is clearly visible, it is more difficult to ascertain how connected she was to the governance of her own kingdom of Navarre. It appears unlikely that Juana was ever truly resident in the realm; even if she had spent some time in the country as an infant, there are no records to suggest she returned to the kingdom after her mother fled to France in 1274. As discussed previously, Juana was born at Bar-sur-Seine, in Champagne in January 1273.¹¹⁵ There is considerable doubt as to whether Juana left Champagne to visit Navarre as a child, or indeed ever set foot in the realm that she ruled for most of her life. A telling piece of evidence for this comes from Anelier's *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre*, which claims that Blanche of Artois's pretext for fleeing Navarre after the death of her husband was "that she wanted to go one day to Champagne, because she very much wanted to see the queen her daughter, who was being brought up at Provins."¹¹⁶

Just as in the case of Champagne, the kingdom was administered on her behalf during her minority. However, it was not her mother who looked after her interests in Navarre after the Treaty of Orleans was signed in 1275; instead it was her prospective father-in-law, Philip III, and the governors that he sent from Paris. During her minority, the exercise of power by her appointed guardian is not surprising. However, once she reached her majority, her marriage meant that her husband assumed his father's role as administrator, rather than the queen herself. Unlike the case of Champagne, there is no evidence to suggest that Juana visited her kingdom or played any role in its affairs beyond adding her signature and seal to official documents.

Although the queen was physically absent, Juana's presence was felt in Navarre through a few different means. The first of these was through the coins issued in her name. Coinage was a way to demonstrate authority and represent the sovereign's relationship to the public. Although coins are arguably more limited in content than charters and official documents issued in the queen's name, they had a much wider reach and circulated over a long period throughout the kingdom and often beyond. As Alan M. Stahl noted, "Coinage was perhaps the most conspicuous activity of any medieval ruler... they were the only product of governmental activity with which virtually the entire population was familiar."¹¹⁷

There are very few surviving examples of coinage from Juana's reign. However, in contrast to the documents that have Juana's

name second to her father-in-law or husband's, surviving coins from Navarre issued during her reign appear to bear only the queen's name. These coins bear a simple design, similar to that of her predecessors from the Champenois dynasty, with a cross on one side and a crown on the other. Significantly though, the only name on the coin is that of the queen, "*Iohanna*," or the legend "*Iohana Regina de Navarra*."¹¹⁸ Stahl also notes that "a woman's name on coinage was a concrete and widespread recognition of her actual governance" although he concedes later that "it must be admitted that the acknowledgement of a woman on coins as a ruler does not imply that she made the actual decisions of governance."¹¹⁹ It would be more appropriate for Juana's name to be on the coinage of the realm than her husband's, given the lingering resentment of the French occupation of the realm. Moreover, it was important to the Navarrese to preserve their sovereignty through the production and circulation of their own coinage. Juan Carrasco Perez notes a serious concern that the French would introduce their coinage into the realm or attempt unify the Navarrese and French currency, which would have potentially damaging economic consequences in Navarre.¹²⁰

The queen's presence could also be felt in the documents issued during her reign. Juana's consent, signature, and seal were a feature of the official documentation from her reign although the documents were issued by her father-in-law and husband who were generally responsible for supervising Navarre's administration. However, it is interesting to note that documents that were not issued by the French governors or by the royal couple in Paris show a somewhat different view of who was administering the realm, emphasizing Juana's role as their sovereign lady. This is most evident in documents issued in Occitan, which in the thirteenth century was widely used in the *Midi* and the Pyrenean region.¹²¹ These documents have a unique format with two areas that specifically refer to the sovereign; the first is a pledge of loyalty and blessing to the sovereign from all of the men and women of the area and the second formula, at the end of the document, notes who was currently the reigning sovereign and could also include the names of governors, bishops, and other important officials. Juana is noted as sovereign during her minority, as the daughter of Enrique I, but there is no reference to Philip III's role as her guardian. After her marriage, some of the documents do name Juana's husband, rather than the queen herself. However, this change is not universal, and there are still many documents that persist in listing the queen alone, without reference to her husband. Only one

of the documents even lists her title as Queen of France; the rest refer to her as “our lady Johana, Queen of Navarre” and notes that “Lady Johana, daughter of the King lord Hennric reigns in Navarre.”¹²²

There are multiple possibilities for this tendency to emphasize Juana’s role in these particular documents; one may be that in these areas there was some hostility to French rule, so the natives preferred to ignore the French king in their documents or emphasize that it was Juana’s right to rule that mattered. The other possibility may be that females in general may have had a relatively strong role in the local community. This can be seen in the inclusion of women in the homage clause of the Occitan documents and is also true of the Basque community.

Another way of making the queen’s presence felt was through patronage. Even though they were living some distance from Navarre, Juana founded a chapel with her husband, Philip of France, in the Convent of Santa Clara of Tudela.¹²³ There are also records of the royal couple making a grant to the great Monastery of La Oliva of a *soto* or grove at Falces.¹²⁴ Individually, Juana also commissioned the construction of a chapel for the royal castle at Tafalla. Interestingly, there is a document certifying to Juana’s role as patron of the chapel from her descendant Leonor, who also contributed to its upkeep and repair.¹²⁵

However, Juana’s most well-known acts of patronage were based at the French court. Juana I was a keen patroness as befit both her roles as queen regnant and consort. In regard to literary patronage, the queen is connected to three major works: a biographic study, a conduct manual, and a romance. The latter, “Meliacun,” by Girart d’Amiens was produced in 1285 and may have been dedicated to her to acknowledge her recent marriage and accession to the French throne.¹²⁶ The second book to be dedicated to her, the *Speculum Dominarum* (ca.1300), has a much more tangible connection to the queen. It was written by Durand de Champagne, who was not only one of her Champenois subjects, but her Franciscan confessor as well.¹²⁷ However, the content of the book is extremely flattering to the author’s patroness, containing twenty-three chapters “on the brilliant condition of the queen,” a section on “the effect of divine grace, especially in queens,” and an entire part that is “devoted to the spiritual character of the queen.”¹²⁸ Even when Durand is talking about queens in an abstract sense, it is clear that Juana, as his own queen and patron, is serving as his muse and inspiration. Finally, Juana commissioned Jean de Joinville to write his famous biography,

La Vie de Saint Louis, which was finished after her death in 1309 and subsequently dedicated to her son, Louis X. Joinville was an important Champenois noble and served as hereditary seneschal of the county. Juana may have played on her position as Joinville's direct liege lord as well as Philip's consort in order to encourage him to write his study of St. Louis, perhaps as an exemplar to her own son.¹²⁹

While Juana's presence may have been felt in Navarre through the circulation of coins and documents and via her activities as a patron, her physical absence from the realm continued to cast a shadow over her reign. The closest the couple ever came to Navarre was a visit to Carcassonne and the *Midi* in 1300, and the realm continued to be ruled by French officials in the queen's absence. Many Navarrese felt that the French regime did not respect the ancient rights and privileges guaranteed by the ancient law code known as the *Fueros*, which every monarch had to swear to uphold and protect. The *Buenas Villas* or major cities of the realm sent a missive to Philip and Juana in 1294 to complain about the lack of respect that the current governor, Hugh de Conflans, had for the customs and laws of the realm.¹³⁰ In 1297, there were assemblies of the *infanzones* (or lower nobility) and the *Buenas Villas* to protest at the French rule and to defend their privileges.¹³¹ While the protests did not directly target the queen, her French husband was a focus for criticism. In one particular incident in 1304, a man who openly criticized the king consort had his tongue mutilated as a punishment.¹³²

Indeed criticism of the king consort could be linked to the unpopularity of the French officials and a feeling that Juana's return to Navarre might have been prevented by her close relationship with her husband. By all accounts, Juana was an excellent consort to Philip IV, providing him with three surviving sons and a daughter and serving not only as a pious mother but also as a graceful steward of his court. Their personal relationship seems to have been quite strong, which is unsurprising as they had grown up together in the French court. Philip's distraught behavior at his wife's death in 1305 and his unwillingness to take a second wife appear to testify to the strength of their relationship.¹³³ More testimony to the couple's close personal relationship comes from contemporary sources and Philip's modern biographers. Philip's love for Juana was noted by one contemporary, who claimed that the king "always wanted to be near his wife."¹³⁴ While admirable in a spouse, it may be possible that this desire for his wife's physical proximity may have prevented her from returning to Pamplona to preside over the government of her kingdom in

person. J. R. Strayer attributes Philip's devotion to Juana's personality: "Jeanne had a gentle and sympathetic character; she gave Philip the affection that had so long been denied him."¹³⁵

However, Strayer also notes that "although her husband loved her as a woman and was willing to help her friends and persecute her enemies, he did not take her advice on major decisions."¹³⁶ Three of Philip's other prominent biographers, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Sylvie le Clech, and Jean Favier, also concur with this view. Favier in particular is fairly damning of Juana's political role noting "she was absent from the game of politics if it didn't concern Navarre or Champagne" and claiming "in the affairs of the realm... Jeanne de Navarre was without influence," and le Clech's commentary is nearly identical.¹³⁷ For evidence of this, Brown points to Philip's rejection of the peace settlement with England that Juana and Marie of Brabant had helped to negotiate, as well as an episode in Carcassonne where Philip had angrily forced Juana to return gifts given to her by the possibly heretical town councilors.¹³⁸

However, Brown also noted the "striking testimony to Philip's regard for her" in his decision to name his wife as regent of France in October 1294 if he died before their son came of age.¹³⁹ Moreover, Brown notes that this was "the first royal ordinance to vest complete regency power in a queen."¹⁴⁰ However, Andre Poulet argues that Philip merely "tacitly and voluntarily... entrusted Joan with powers similar to those exercised by Blanche of Castile."¹⁴¹ This document is incredibly significant as it demonstrates Philip's confidence in Juana's ability to govern. Indeed Poulet notes that "Philip IV spoke highly of wife's qualities... her loyalty, her fidelity, her devotion and her love for the kingdom and its people."¹⁴² Philip would not have entrusted the realm to her sole governance after his death if he had not had total faith in her abilities, no matter how much he may have loved her. She may have been largely shut out of the day-to-day administration of the French kingdom during his reign, as his biographers have implied, but Philip would not have named her as sole regent if she did not have the ability and, more importantly, the experience to be effective in the role.

Evaluating Juana and Philip's Partnership

Juana and Philip functioned very well as a personal and political partnership in many ways. As discussed previously, contemporary evidence appears to indicate that the couple had a close, harmonious

personal relationship. The balance of power in their political relationship seems to have varied in each of their different roles. Juana played no part in the governance of France, but she was an active and popular consort, fulfilling all expectations in her roles of wife, mother, patroness, and mistress of the court. With regard to Champagne, there appears to have been a more equitable balance. Philip may have been more involved with the administration of the county than his wife, but Juana's many tours of the county alongside her husband established her presence as sovereign countess, and the episodes with the Comte de Bar and Bishop Guichard demonstrate her keen defense of her lands and revenues. Finally, in the case of Navarre, Juana appears to have had a minimal role in the governance of her kingdom. Although her right to the crown was always acknowledged, she did not appear to have personally exercised the royal prerogative to any great extent. Therefore, although they functioned well as a pair, particularly on a personal level, the label "His Way" for their power-sharing dynamic reflects that the balance of political power was undeniably in Philip's favor. They ruled their domains from his court and capital, and it appears that Juana was not allowed to fully assume the responsibilities of ruling her own territories. Her right to rule the county of Champagne and Navarre was constantly confirmed by the official documentation of their rule. However, it is clear that Philip exercised the bulk of the ruling authority in both of their domains and that French modes of governance and the interests of France were always paramount.

A final example, which reflects this power-sharing dynamic and the couple's political relationship, is the marriages that were contracted for their children. Although these marriages ultimately align with the "His Way" dynamic of their marriage and the foreign policy directives of France, there is some indication that the needs of Juana's kingdom were considered, at least during the queen's lifetime. In 1294, marriages were contracted for two of the couple's children: their second son Philip was betrothed to Jeanne, the eldest daughter of Otto IV, Count Palatine of Burgundy, while their daughter, Marguerite, appears to have been betrothed to the young Ferdinand IV of Castile.¹⁴³ These marriages would have been advantageous for both France and Navarre and show a balanced deployment of alliances between the French and Iberian spheres. An alliance with Burgundy would have been advantageous for France and secured the borders of the county of Champagne, while the marriage with Castile would have helped heal the conflicts that arose

on Juana's accession and would have strengthened the bond between France and Castile, which became a feature of the politics of the later Middle Ages.¹⁴⁴ Tragically, Marguerite died in 1294, but the couple's younger daughter, Blanche, immediately filled her place.¹⁴⁵ However, she also died young before the marriage could take place, and plans for a Castilian marriage appears to have been abandoned, although Philip did sign a treaty of alliance with Ferdinand on March 31, 1306.¹⁴⁶

The next two marriages made for their children were decidedly northern in outlook. The importance of Burgundy (both duchy and county) was reaffirmed by the betrothal of Philip and Juana's heir, Louis, to Marguerite, the daughter of Robert II, Duke of Burgundy in 1299.¹⁴⁷ Their daughter Isabella was promised next to Edward, Prince of Wales (later Edward II of England), in 1303. Although Pope Boniface VIII initiated Isabella's marriage in 1298 as a means of promoting peace between France and England, Juana's involvement in brokering the match is specifically noted in documentary evidence.¹⁴⁸ It is interesting to remember that Juana herself was betrothed as an infant to Edward I of England's son Henry in 1273.¹⁴⁹ If Henry had not died prematurely, Juana might have become Queen of England instead of Queen of France; instead her daughter filled this role, becoming one of England's most controversial queens consort.

Juana's death in 1304 meant that she did not survive to see the fruition of these betrothals, and she was not involved in the decisions regarding the marriages of their youngest sons, Charles and Robert. Robert was promised to Constance, daughter of Frederick III of Aragon, King of Sicily, in 1306.¹⁵⁰ Sadly, Robert died shortly afterward, and this Mediterranean alliance was abandoned. It is possible that Charles could have been used as a substitute for his younger brother but instead he was married to yet another Burgundian princess, Blanche, in 1307.¹⁵¹

Although attempts were made to contract Iberian alliances, the marriages of Juana I's surviving children were geographically concentrated and reflected the interests of France in building a closer alliance with Burgundy and improving relations with England. Although it could be argued that the southern alliances were scuppered by untimely deaths, if they were truly a priority for Philip, Isabella could have been sent to Castile to be the bride of Ferdinand IV while Charles could have carried out the marriage to Constance of Sicily, rather than making an almost redundant third marriage to a Burgundian bride. Ultimately, it appears that France's foreign policy

goals took priority over alliances that would have improved the strained relationships with Navarre's Iberian neighbors.

The Queen's Death and Legacy

During the month of March 1304, Juana was evidently suffering from illness and a flurry of bequests were made in expectation of her nearing death.¹⁵² Juana's lengthy will gives some insight into her personality and, particularly, her interests.¹⁵³ The queen's generosity is impressive, leaving over ninety, often sizable, bequests to named individuals. These individuals included three of her female relatives from the house of Champagne-Navarre and seven women who appear to have been her attendants.¹⁵⁴ Bequests are left to expected figures such as her confessor, Durand de Champagne, and other important members of her household and at court, including her doctor, treasurer, chaplains, and Engurrand de Marigny, who served her husband but later fell out of favor with her son Louis X.¹⁵⁵ The number of bequests left to servants is remarkable, including laundresses, tailors, cooks, furriers, fruiterers, ushers, a pastry cook, and a carriage driver. Moreover, these bequests are substantial, ranging from 40 up to 400 livres. The queen was also very generous to the brothers, children, and heirs of those in her household; for example, Juana left 30 livres each to the daughters of her cook.

Juana's will is in keeping with that of other French queens consort, including her daughters-in-law Clémence of Hungary, Jeanne of Burgundy, and Jeanne d'Evreux.¹⁵⁶ For example, Clémence's will contained a similar number of individual bequests to named recipients. However, there are some considerable differences. Unlike the testaments of her daughters-in-law and her great-granddaughter Blanca of Navarre, wife of Philip VI de Valois, Juana I's will does not contain particular references to objects, while these comparative examples contain bequests of relics, crowns, jewelry, and books to specific individuals and institutions.¹⁵⁷

Juana's keen religious patronage can be seen in the bequests that she left to an impressive number of institutions, primarily monastic foundations. Although she gave bequests to the notable institutions of Cluny, Cîteaux, and Clairvaux, Juana's support of the Franciscan order is evident in the substantial number of bequests given to Franciscan groups, particularly the Sisters Minor.¹⁵⁸

Juana's major bequest and lasting legacy was the founding of the *Collège de Navarre* at the University of Paris.¹⁵⁹ The funding for this

project and for the foundation of a hospital at Château-Thierry in her county of Champagne was left in her will.¹⁶⁰ Even though the college was not built until after her death, her influence was very much felt in the design of the school, particularly in the curriculum and administration. Juana left lengthy, specific and detailed instructions regarding how the school should be run and staffed and demanded quality instructors, “the best...that one can find.”¹⁶¹ Moreover, Carlos Sánchez Marco claims that the queen’s plans for the college brought “an innovative character to French education.”¹⁶² The school continued to run as the *Collège de Navarre* until 1793 when it became known as *L’École Polytechnique*. During its nearly 500-year life, the Collège turned out a number of famous alumni including Cardinal Richelieu, Juana’s descendant Henri IV of France (Enrique III de Navarra), Jean Gerson, and Nicolas Oresme.¹⁶³ Juana’s statue proudly stood to the left of the portal with an inscription noting her role as the founder of the school.¹⁶⁴

Although Juana’s will is a testament to her piety and generosity, it also reaffirms her tendency to focus her efforts and interests in France and in her own county of Champagne. While the queen’s marriage to the King of France and the foundation of *Collège de Navarre* did provide the opportunity for some Navarrese scholars to receive an education in Paris, the queen did not attempt to found an educational institution in her own kingdom. Her counties of Champagne and Brie were the location of many of the largest bequests, including the Hospital at Château-Thierry, and sizable offerings were also made to foundations in her principal Champenois cities Troyes, Meaux, and Provins.¹⁶⁵ In addition Juana left a massive bequest of 10,000 livres to be distributed by her executors among impoverished institutions in her counties, and left two donations for the poor of Champagne and Brie: a 1000 livres plus an additional 2000 livres for clothes and shoes for the destitute. There were no specific bequests made to any Navarrese institutions, merely 2000 livres left to be distributed to different establishments in the realm as her executors saw fit.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps given the extreme generosity of Juana’s will, Philip had some difficulties fulfilling the wishes of his late wife. Despite his written assurances that he and their son Louis would ensure that her bequests were all discharged, Philip appropriated some of the funds that had been set aside to fulfill her legacies and bequests. This was only rectified with provisions from his own will to use revenues from Auvergne in order to make good the queen’s bequests.¹⁶⁶ In addition, Philip was loath to accede to her wishes to

be buried in a Franciscan foundation in Paris instead of beside him in Saint Denis as he desired.¹⁶⁷ Juana's desire to be buried in the Franciscan church was in keeping with both the previous burials of Capetian queens and her own patronage of the order.¹⁶⁸ Philip's own preference to have her buried alongside him at Saint Denis would have broken earlier precedents but would have reflected the couple's close relationship. In addition, Rina Lahav has argued that Philip's desire to be buried together also reflected his deep regard and respect for his wife, and perhaps an acknowledgment that as a sovereign in her own right, a burial in the royal necropolis would have been entirely appropriate.¹⁶⁹

The overall legacy that Juana I left was decidedly mixed. There is little doubt that she was a beloved consort and, as the muse for Durand de Champagne, was lauded as an ideal queen. A verse written to celebrate her role as the foundress of the *Collège de Navarre* describes her thus:

Prudent, robust, constant, just, chaste
Full of faith, hope, piety
Of compassionate mind with a heart longing for truth.¹⁷⁰

While these qualities may be admirable, there is another adjective that her Navarrese subjects might have used to describe her: absent. As demonstrated by the revolt of the Navarreía and the protest of the *Infanzones*, there was considerable concern about the infrequency of visits by the Capetian monarchs and their decision to govern in absentia. Although they generally supported their absent queen, the anger of the Navarrese about the situation can clearly be seen in a document from the Cathedral archives from 1307 issued by the assembled Cortes, which pledged not to obey any French governor or official if Juana's successor Louis did not personally come to Navarre.¹⁷¹ Although he eventually did so, his brothers and successors, Philip and Charles, never visited Navarre. Philip had the temerity to order his Navarrese governors to designate particular citizens to come to France to pay homage to him there in 1317.¹⁷²

The continued lack of the sovereign's presence, coupled with a barrage of interference from Paris and the rule of foreign governors and officials, had a profoundly negative effect on the Pyrenean kingdom. However, there were some benefits to the realm; Manuel Iribarren argued that Navarre's period in "the French orbit" under the Champenois and Capetian dynasties "brought beneficial cultural

and artistic influence” and involved Navarre more closely in wider European politics.¹⁷³

Juana's reign set a precedent for a female sovereign in Navarre that enabled the rule of her descendants Juana II, Blanca, Leonor, and Catalina. However, her reign had a long-term effect on the administration and foreign policy of the realm and initiated over fifty years of absentee rule. Ironically it would take the accession of another female monarch, Juana's granddaughter and namesake, to rectify the situation. The chronicler Moret noted a Navarrese saying that illustrates the importance of this event in the popular memory, “One Juana took the kingdom abroad, the other Juana restored it to us and returned home.”¹⁷⁴

CHAPTER 3

JUANA II: THE QUEEN RETURNS HOME

The reign of Juana I had brought Navarre into the French orbit, uniting the crowns of France and Navarre from her marriage in 1284 until the death of her youngest son, Charles, in 1328. This momentous year saw the accession of Navarre's second reigning queen, Juana II, named for her grandmother, Navarre's first female monarch. Juana II's elevation marked the end of the Capetian domination of the realm, severing the union of the crowns and brought in a new dynasty, known as Evreux, after patrimony of the queen's husband. In contrast to the years of frustration and hardship under the sometimes oppressive rule of the French governors on behalf of the absent Capetian monarchs, the Navarrese were delighted at the return of the sovereign to the kingdom. The reign of Juana II and her husband Philip d'Evreux was received in a far more positive light than that of their predecessors, not only for their more visible presence in the realm but also for the effectiveness of their joint rule of the kingdom.

The Disregarded Heiress

The issue of the succession to the thrones of both France and Navarre completely dominated Juana's childhood and youth. She was born in 1312, the daughter of Juana I's eldest son, Louis, and his first wife, Marguerite of Burgundy. Juana's difficulties began when her mother was accused of adultery in 1314 during the reign of Philip IV.¹ Marguerite and her sister, Blanche, who was married to Louis's brother Charles, were incarcerated for treasonous adultery and the king's third daughter-in-law, Jeanne (the wife of Philip de Poitiers), was placed under house arrest for her supposed knowledge of the affairs. The two men in question Philip and Gautier d'Aunay, were summarily executed, and Marguerite died under questionable circumstances while

imprisoned in the Château Galliard. Elizabeth A. R. Brown claims that the king's behavior stemmed from "lofty moralism" and an obsession with the legitimacy of the Capetian line.² Peggy McCracken in her work on adultery and medieval queens has suggested that accusations of illicit queenly behavior could be a way to attack a powerful queen consort by reducing or removing the authority and standing she had as the mother of the heir and severing her connection to power by damaging her relations with the king.³ Accusations of adultery could also be an avenue for a king to rid himself of a barren queen. However, neither of these options appear to be applicable in this particular case. Marguerite was not a particularly powerful figure in the Capetian court, in spite of her title as Queen of Navarre. Moreover, she was not barren; although she had only produced one daughter, there was no reason to suggest that in time, she would not produce the desired son. There are a number of possibilities regarding the source and motivation behind these accusations. It is possible that these rumours were not an attempt to bring down Marguerite specifically but an anti-Burgundian attack as all of the women implicated were connected to either the duchy or county of Burgundy. Alternatively, Louis's and Marguerite's personal relationship may have broken down to such an extent that he had either engineered false accusations against her to remove her, or she had indeed turned to an illicit relationship to compensate for a lack of connection with her husband. Another possibility is a plausible suggestion that Queen Isabella of England fabricated the accusations during her visit in 1314.⁴ Ultimately however, no matter who began the rumours about Marguerite or whether the allegations were true or false, Juana remained the daughter of a woman who had been convicted of having an adulterous relationship around the time of her birth and was therefore heavily tainted by an assumption of illegitimacy, even though Louis X had confirmed her as his legitimate daughter on his deathbed.⁵

Juana's father remarried quickly after the disgrace of Marguerite of Burgundy's alleged affair, choosing the Angevin princess, Clémence of Hungary, for his second wife in the quest for a male heir to continue the "Capetian miracle" of unbroken succession between fathers and sons. However, Louis's untimely death on June 5, 1316, created an unprecedented and problematic situation for the French succession as the king left behind a pregnant wife and his young daughter, Juana, the only remnant of his scandalous first marriage. Unsure of how to proceed in this unusual situation, an emergency council that included several princes of the blood was formed to deal with

the crisis, and for five weeks the kingdom floated in a kind of limbo with no king or regent.⁶ Finally, it was decided that Louis's brother, Philip of Poitiers, would serve as regent until the queen gave birth. As the eldest surviving son, Philip was in a distinctly advantageous position, which was enhanced when his wife gave birth to a son only a few weeks after Louis X's death. As Elizabeth A. R. Brown noted, "He became the only son of Philip the Fair to possess a male heir of undoubted legitimacy . . . a potential successor to the throne itself."⁷

An initial agreement regarding the regency and succession to the throne had been drafted on July 16, 1316, while the widowed queen was still pregnant. If the child was a boy, Philip of Poitiers would serve as regent for the infant king, but if the child should prove to be a girl, the half-sisters would at the very least divide the inheritance of their paternal grandmother between them: the Kingdom of Navarre and the rich counties of Champagne and Brie.⁸ The agreement also stipulated that Juana was allowed to go to her mother's relatives in Burgundy on the condition that she did not leave France or marry without the agreement of the princes of the blood.⁹

The queen bore a son, Jean, in mid-November who lived only a handful of days. This event exposed a significant loophole in the aforementioned agreement; there was no proviso for the nearly immediate death of Juana's half-brother. The death of her brother left young Juana as the only remaining offspring of the late king, and the succession to the thrones of France, Navarre, and the counties of Champagne and Brie appeared highly uncertain. Juana's maternal uncle, Eudes IV of Burgundy, was in Paris when the queen's son died, and he immediately pushed Philip for a resolution or renegotiation of their agreement, but Philip delayed, refusing to respond to Eudes's request until the middle of January.¹⁰ By this time, Philip had been crowned as King of France at Reims. The account of the chronicler Girard de Fracheto reveals the deep divisions among the nobility and the royal family itself over the coronation of Philip and the usurpation of Juana's rights:

Although his brother Charles had come with him to Reims before the coronation, he nevertheless left his brother first thing in the morning. The Duke of Burgundy refused to come; even the venerable Duchess of Burgundy, having appealed against these deeds (so they say) to make it known among the peers, and especially the nobles, they they were not to proceed to/with the coronation as it was being discussed by law that Joanna, firstborn of King Louis, [should] possess/hold the

kingdom of France and Navarre. On account of these other indications and several deeds, it was concluded by judgment that many of the aforesaid nobles and other magnates of the kingdom were against the king (or at least openly pretended to be) and... there was a faction, so they say, of others in support. Notwithstanding these issues, the feast of the coronation was celebrated, the doors/gates of the city having been shut and armed men set to guard them.¹¹

Agnes, daughter of Saint Louis and mother of the disgraced Marguerite of Burgundy, had been working tirelessly to assert her granddaughter Juana's rights. Indeed, part of these efforts included a letter-writing campaign to key members of the nobility to argue for Juana's claim and to encourage them to protest against or, indeed, prevent Philip's coronation as discussed in Girard de Fracheto's account.¹² Ultimately, however, Agnes's efforts to protest at the usurpation of Juana's rights could not prevent Philip from taking power and the titles that she, and others, felt rightfully belonged to her granddaughter. Philip's position was further bolstered by the assembly on February 2, 1317, which reportedly declared that no woman could succeed to the French throne.¹³

Andrew Lewis has suggested that a sentiment against female succession could be seen earlier and cites a reference to Juana's succession rights by her grandfather in an early marital negotiation.¹⁴ This clause notes that "she could not come to the succession of the King of France or the King of Navarre without the king's 'especial' permission."¹⁵ However, this clearly did not bar Juana from the succession, it only indicated that special permission was needed, which is not unusual given that a woman had never been the heir to the French throne. In the case of Navarre, this statement is meaningless, as it was not for Philip IV to decide, and this statement clearly contravened standing tradition and custom in Navarre as well as the laws of the *Fueros*.

It is important to note that the so-called "Salic Law" was only cited much later; the first known reference to it in regard to the succession of females was made in 1358.¹⁶ By the fifteenth century, the prejudice against female succession was such that the Salic Law was considered a fundamental, if not a defining, element of the French monarchy.¹⁷ Although later writers, such as François Hotman, claimed that the Salic Law had been invoked in the succession crises of 1316–28, there is no evidence from the period to support this claim.¹⁸ As Éliane Viennot argued, "No law, principle or judicial theory was advanced. Only the rule of force and interests were brought into play."¹⁹

There has been considerable scholarship on the Salic Law, from John Milton Potter's 1937 article up to recent contributions from Craig Taylor and Sarah Hanley.²⁰ Salic Law has been an area of interest to scholars not only due to its impact on female succession but also due to its role in the Hundred Years War. What is significant about these studies is that they highlight the retroactive nature of these late medieval treatises on Salic Law and female succession: as Taylor notes, "the problems that French intellectuals faced as they tried to deal with the precedent set by the exclusion of women from the French royal succession."²¹ This precedent needed considerable justification, not necessarily in terms of a misogynistic need to argue for the inability of women to rule effectively but a very practical need to confirm the legitimacy of the Valois dynasty against the claims of Edward III of England and Juana's own son Carlos II of Navarre, who both had very strong rights to the French crown, through the female line.

Philip V's coronation and the proclamation of the assembly against female succession appear to have ended Juana's hopes of the French crown, but Agnes refused to give up on her granddaughter's rights. A letter was sent from Juana to her vassals in Champagne, encouraging them to refuse to pay homage to Philip and asking them to assemble on May 8th with their men-at-arms in order to "defend" the county. Eudes IV and his mother, Agnes, together with the barons of Champagne and Brie and other nobles who opposed the rise of Philip de Poitiers, continued to actively oppose the usurpation of Juana's rights, appealing to *Parlement* and writing letters to other powerful barons to stir up support for the would-be queen.²² In one of these letters, written in early 1317 to Robert de Béthune, Eudes argued that the circumvention of Juana went against "the divine right of law, by custom, in the usage kept in similar cases in empires, kingdoms, fiefs, in baronies in such a length of time that there is no memory of the contrary."²³

The stakes had been raised, and Philip was forced to renegotiate with Juana and her maternal kin. A new agreement was finally reached on March 27, 1318; Eudes would marry Philip's eldest daughter with a hefty dowry of the counties of Burgundy and Artois while Juana would marry her cousin Philip d'Evreux and receive 15,000 *livres tournois* in rents and if Philip died with no male heir she would inherit Champagne and Brie.²⁴ Juana was required to renounce her rights to the thrones of France and Navarre, although crucially this had to be ratified once she reached her majority at twelve years of

age, and it appears that this ratification never occurred. This agreement brought an end to any protest on Juana's behalf; her defenders were placated if not effectively bought off, and Juana was safely consigned to the care of her new in-laws, away from the court and those who might support her claim.

Ultimately, Juana's claim to the French throne failed for several reasons. In Navarre, Juana had the weight of the *Fueros* to name her as the rightful successor to her father, and she could claim the precedent of her grandmother as a previous female ruler. In France there was no law to support her rights, and a woman had never ruled the kingdom in her own right. Juana could claim her right of succession through direct line of descent as the only living child of the last king, but this was questioned as Juana was tainted by rumors of illegitimacy, and she had not been explicitly or officially named as the heirless apparent. Although Louis did reportedly acknowledge Juana as his own on his deathbed, there were many in the French court who believed her to be d'Aunay's child and not the king's.²⁵ This *soupçon d'indignité* may have been the primary factor that prevented Juana's accession, and thus, as Lehugeur remarked, the scandal surrounding the alleged adultery of the king's daughters-in-law may not have been a light court distraction, but an event that radically altered the history of France.²⁶

The fact that Juana was also very young was another detrimental factor for her claim. At the time of her father's death, she would have been about four years old. Although Juana I had successfully claimed the throne at a similar age, she had a difficult time and was arguably only successful due to the intervention of Philip III of France. Juana I had no surviving uncles who could contest her position, whereas Juana II's uncle Philip claimed that his right to the throne was stronger than his niece's as he belonged to an earlier generation, which meant that he had a closer tie to Saint Louis.²⁷ Had Juana been a grown woman with a powerful husband by her side and children of her own, it is highly unlikely that her claim would have been brushed aside so easily. Moreover, if more time had elapsed since her mother's conviction for adultery, Juana's connection with the scandal would have been lessened. However, in 1316 Juana was a young, possibly illegitimate orphan with a number of male relatives who could justify their own right to the throne, and thus her claim stood little chance of success.

Although the reasons for rejecting Juana's claim were complex and not entirely based the fact that she was female, once she

had been bypassed, a precedent against female succession was set. In 1322, Philip V died leaving four daughters and no surviving sons to succeed him. This time, however, his younger brother, Charles, immediately assumed the throne and the possibility of any of Philip's daughters assuming the throne does not appear to have been seriously raised. The issue of female succession was reopened at the death of Charles IV in 1328. Once again, the king left a pregnant wife and a young daughter, and this time there were no surviving brothers to take the throne. Philip de Valois, a grandson of Philip III, was designated as potential regent if the queen bore a male child. This time, however, the queen gave birth to a daughter. The direct Capetian male line was extinct, leaving only a group of eight royal princesses.

The precedent against female succession that had been established in 1316 had been reinforced in 1322 and seemed unlikely to be overturned. Indeed, overturning the ban on women would be difficult as it was not clear which of the women of the Capetian dynasty had the better claim. Isabella, Queen of England since 1308, was the eldest of the group and the last surviving sibling of Louis X, whose death began the crisis. Juana was the only child of the last direct king, but if she was illegitimate, Philip V's daughter Jeanne, the powerful Duchess of Burgundy, would be next in line. There was also a case for Marie or the newborn Blanche who were the only *porphyrogenitas*, born while their father Charles IV was king. Given this complex situation and the fear that Isabella would transmit her right to her son Edward III of England, it is hardly surprising that there was no move to reinstate the possibility of female succession even though all of these women had a more direct claim to the throne than Philip de Valois.²⁸

A meeting with deputations from all of the claimants, male and female, was held in the spring of 1328 at St. Germain-en Laye to hammer out a complicated agreement of compromise, concessions, and compensation to all parties. This time Juana was in a much stronger position to negotiate over her disputed inheritance. She was now a grown woman, married to Philip d'Evreux, who had a strong claim to the French throne himself, certainly on par with the claim of Philip de Valois.

Juana II was married young, at seven years of age, on June 18, 1318, during the reign of her uncle Philip V.²⁹ At this point, she was a nominally a Princess of France and more importantly a bypassed claimant to the French and Navarrese thrones. Her husband, Philip, Count of Evreux, was one of the primary claimants for the French throne after

the extinction of the direct Capetian male line. Martin Scott notes the strength of Philip d'Evreux's claim as he "had direct male descent from Philip III," but then claims that "Joanna and Philip of Evreux, for different reasons, were unfit to exercise power."³⁰ While Juana's shortcomings were fairly obvious with regard to her age, gender, and disputed parentage, Scott does not elaborate on what made Philip d'Evreux "unfit." However, Scott does argue that as Philip de Valois was already regent, it would have been difficult for a rival claimant to dislodge him. Jules Viard offers a more reasonable explanation, that Philip d'Evreux was younger than his Valois cousin and had to let the elder cousin take precedence, pointing to a similar statement from the *Chronographia regum Francorum* to substantiate his argument.³¹

Juana's marriage to a prince of the blood strengthened her own position in the line of succession and significantly increased the claim of their children to the French throne. It is surprising however, that Philip V would seek or even sanction a marriage that might create a couple capable of dislodging him, or his children, with their own very strong claim to the French and Navarrese thrones. This is even more striking considering that the marriage was being orchestrated in 1317, just at the point where Philip was trying to quell support for Juana's claim and force her to renounce her rights.

Although Philip de Valois was able to win support for his rights to the French throne in 1328, Juana certainly never forgot her birthright as the daughter of the King of France and referred to herself as such in her address clause.³² Another reference to her Capetian lineage can be found in the unusual image cycle of Saint Louis in Juana's Book of Hours, which stresses the king's coronation and kingship rather than the customary images of his sainthood. Tania Mertzman argues in her study of the Book of Hours that the unusual image cycle "suggests that Juana is a worthy and direct descendant of Louis IX who should not be denied her place in the Capetian lineage and succession."³³ Marguerite Keane believes that the book may have been commissioned to mark the birth of Juana's first son, Louis, in 1330 and that the choice of images signals her ambition for her child to succeed to the French throne.³⁴ However, Martinez de Aguirre suggests a much later date for this commission, between 1336 and 1340.³⁵ While this would not negate the previous suggestion regarding the Capetian succession, it would conflict with Keane's link to the birth of Juana's first son. In addition, Martinez de Aguirre notes the presence of her mother's Burgundian coats of arms, which is intriguing considering the adultery scandal that led to her disgrace and death.

However, it appears that Juana did not disassociate herself from her mother and her Burgundian lineage; her maternal grandmother Agnes had been the greatest supporter of her hereditary rights during the succession crisis of 1316, and documentary evidence shows that Juana spent 7 livres and 12 sous for a "*tapis vert*" for the tomb of her mother emblazoned with the arms of France, Navarre, Champagne, and Burgundy.³⁶

Certainly the behavior of her son Carlos II during the Hundred Years War could be interpreted as the actions of a man who believed that his own claim to the French throne was superior to that of the Valois and his cousin Edward III of England. In Froissart's chronicle, Carlos II addressed the Parisians:

He said that no one should feel any fear of him, since he was ready to live and die defending the kingdom of France—as indeed he was bound to, for he was descended in the direct line on both his father's and his mother's side. And he let it be understood clearly enough that, if he ever wished to lay claim to the French crown, he could show that he had a better right to it than the King of England.³⁷

Even in death, Juana's claim to the French throne was emphasized as she was entombed in the traditional burial place of French kings at Saint Denis alongside her brother, Jean I "the Posthumous" rather than in Navarre.³⁸ Éliane Viennot viewed this as "a gesture of expiation from the usurpers to a princess who ought to have been Queen of France."³⁹ Whether or not it was motivated by a desire on the part of Juana to take her rightful place among her Capetian ancestors or guilt from the Valois who displaced her, ultimately the tomb serves as a lasting reminder of her thwarted claim to the throne of France.

Although Philip de Valois successfully claimed the French throne, he had absolutely no claim to the counties of Champagne, Brie, and most importantly to the Iberian Kingdom of Navarre, which had come to the French crown through Juana I. However, Philip de Valois was determined to keep Champagne for more than purely financial reasons. Adding Champagne to their existing territories in Northern France would allow the Juana and Philip d'Évreux's territory to practically encircle Paris, "like a pincer grip" on the capital.⁴⁰ Nor would it be a wise move to allow the counties to be joined up with the adjacent territory of Philip V's eldest daughter, the Duchess of Burgundy, who was set to inherit the counties of Burgundy and Artois as well. Philip de Valois managed to retain Champagne and

Brie for the French crown by offering Juana and her husband the territories of Longueville and Mortain near Evreux and the county of Angoulême in exchange. The Duke and Duchess of Burgundy and the remaining princesses were offered a package of financial compensation for their share of the royal inheritance.⁴¹ This substitution of cash for lands or the substitution of lesser domains for the royal princesses undoubtedly favored Philip de Valois and the French crown at the women's (and their husbands' and successors') expense. However, it was unthinkable that Philip de Valois and his councillors would allow the alienation of Champagne and Brie from the French crown, nor would the Champenois nobles approve of its division between the granddaughters of the last sovereign countess, Juana I.

The succession to the Kingdom of Navarre was the final area that needed to be resolved. The realm had been unhappily attached to the French crown since Philip III assumed the guardianship of Juana I in 1275. The Navarrese had tolerated French rule because of the indisputable claims of Juana I and her son Louis, but were increasingly uncomfortable under absentee rulers and a series of often repressive French governors. As far as the Navarrese were concerned, Juana II should have followed her father, Louis, as Queen of Navarre, regardless of whether or not she was also Queen of France. Moreover, as Moret demonstrates, by 1328, there was ample precedent for female rule and inheritance through the female line:

If the Infanta Blanca, sister of the King Sancho *el Fuerte* had not been prevented by Salic Law from inheriting Navarre nor was her great-granddaughter Lady Juana, daughter of Enrique *el Gordo*, who inherited the realm and put it completely to France by her marriage with Philip the Fair, with what right, with what appearance of justice could they dare to exclude her granddaughter Juana?⁴²

The succession of Juana's uncles, Philip and Charles, clearly contravened the succession practices laid out in the *Fueros*. Although Philip was generally acknowledged as king, many Navarrese refused to pay homage to Charles as they felt he had no right to the throne.⁴³ Moret summarizes the attitude of the Navarrese to the usurpation of Juana's rights by her uncles:

The other two brothers without any right in Navarre left out the Lady Juana, legitimate daughter of the first-born son Louis...and excluded her with an extension of the Salic Law, unknown in Spain

and it would never pass through the Pyrenees without violence... the Cortes declared the right of the succession for the Lady Juana, cauterizing the dangerous flow of this intrusive and foreign law, called and crowned Lady Juana with her husband Lord Philip, Count of Evreux.⁴⁴

The succession of Juana and her husband Philip d'Evreux is considered to be an extremely important event in the history of Navarre as the beginning of a new dynasty and a new era, free from Capetian rule. Accordingly, the events of 1328–29, from the death of Juana's uncle Charles in February 1328 to the installation of the new monarchs in the following spring, have been a subject of intensive study and discussion. In addition to the extensive coverage given to this period in general works of Navarrese history, several articles have been published specifically on this short period. Although many historians have described this period positively, as the kingdom was once again in a position to "choose" their sovereign or reestablish the direct line of succession, some of these articles have portrayed this period instead as a moment of crisis. Pilar Azcárate Aguilar-Amat in her article "Navarre in a State of Alert" focuses on the possibility that Aragon and Castile intended to use this moment of political uncertainty to force a protectorate on Navarre, just as they had moved in with predatory intent during the succession crisis of Juana I.⁴⁵ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero describes the events of this period, particularly the hastily assembled meeting in response to the death of Juana's uncle Charles at Puente la Reina on March 13, 1328, as a "revolutionary blow" or a coup d'état on the part of the nobility, wresting back the control of the realm from Paris.⁴⁶

After the initial meeting in March 1328, the Cortes met again in May and drafted a summons to request that Juana come to Navarre as soon as possible to claim her birthright as their queen.⁴⁷ With the support of the Cortes, negotiations with her Capetian relatives complete, and even papal backing, Juana was a successful claimant at last.⁴⁸

Coronation: Affirming Rights and Defining Roles

At the beginning of Juana II's rule, there was an intensive period of negotiation between the Cortes's acknowledgment of Juana as the rightful sovereign in May 1328 and the coronation in March of the following year. The main source of tension in these negotiations

was regarding the role of the king consort. It was also an important moment for the couple to reassess their own partnership. Due to the failure to claim her rights to the throne of France and her grandmother's counties of Champagne and Brie as a child, Juana had grown up as her husband's consort, the Countess of Evreux. Now, she was a sovereign queen, and her husband was forced to negotiate with his wife and the Cortes for a role in governing her realm.

After the generally negative experience that Navarre had under the previous king consort, Philip IV of France, the Navarrese were understandably keen to put specific limits to the powers of Juana II's husband. As the queen was already married, there had been no opportunity to define the exact role that her husband could or could not play in the realm within the marital agreements. In the year between the death of Juana's uncle Charles in February 1328 and their coronation in March 1329, there was an intensive period of negotiation between the queen, her husband, their representatives, and the ambassadors of the realm in order to come to an agreement on this key issue.

Intriguingly, there are several letters all dated July 20, 1328, from Paris, which form part of this negotiation process and may possibly suggest that the queen and her husband were negotiating separately with the Cortes. One was written in Latin, from Philip alone, naming himself as King of Navarre before his other titles and naming Henri de Sully and Philip de Melun as his legates.⁴⁹ This was followed by a letter, which is nearly identical in content, written in French by his wife, as Queen of Navarre.⁵⁰ Neither letter mentions the other spouse, not even to note that they give their consent to their spouse's actions. There was also a third letter with nearly identical content, from the queen but written in Latin.⁵¹ Finally, there was a fourth letter, which again named Sully and Melun as their representatives, but this letter is issued by both spouses in French.⁵² The address clause of this last letter is interesting as it clearly lists Philip first as King of Navarre before a full listing of his many titles, while Juana is relegated to being "his companion, by the same grace, queen of said kingdom and countess of the aforementioned counties."⁵³ Although it is not unusual for a husband to precede his wife in address clauses, Philip's clearly superior position in this example may have been intended to assert his own authority as king consort.

This in turn may have worried the Navarrese who were keen to affirm that Juana was the hereditary sovereign. Indeed, as Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero stressed, the Navarrese had addressed their original summons to rule to "the queen—only to her as the legitimate queen

regnant,” and there was no mention in the document of her husband Philip accompanying her to Pamplona or sharing her rule.⁵⁴

A particular sticking point in these negotiations regarding the place of the king consort was his role in the coronation itself. Delegates from the Cortes met with representatives from the royal couple in November 1328 at Roncesvalles.⁵⁵ The plans put forward by the Navarrese contingent were for the queen to be elevated alone on the shield of estate during the ceremony and carry out all of the traditional elements of the coronation: “My lady will be raised up . . . as she is the natural lady and no one can be raised up if they are not the natural lord.”⁵⁶ However, they acknowledged that Philip could still participate in the administration and rule of the realm as her spouse.⁵⁷ This was not enough for Philip who felt that his authority would be undermined if he did not have an equal share in the coronation process.⁵⁸ Henri de Sully argued for Philip’s right to share fully in the government of the realm from the coronation onward “as husband and head he should have the rights of his wife and companion.”⁵⁹ Sully was clearly drawing on biblical authority here, using the assertion of Paul that “the head of woman is man” (1 Corinthians, 11.3). Moreover, Sully argued that the queen herself “approves and consents” to her husband having an increased share in the royal prerogative and stressed her authority as sovereign in support for Philip’s equal participation. In the end, both husband and wife participated in the traditional Navarrese coronation rituals, were anointed and raised up on the ceremonial shield together in the Cathedral of Pamplona on March 5, 1329.⁶⁰

In addition to the ceremony of coronation, the royal couple signed an official document or agreement that had been drafted by the Cortes which laid out their rights and defined the limits of their respective powers, particularly that of the king consort. Although the document emphasized repeatedly that the queen was the “true and natural heir” of the realm, it acknowledged that her husband was due compensation for his efforts to “procure and defend” her rights. Philip was compensated for his expenses in return for his donation of rents to the queen and their heirs from his own county of Longueville, which would continue in perpetuity after his death, ensuring that Navarre would continue to benefit from this income.⁶¹

However, there is one significant clause in the succession document that demonstrates the desire of the Navarrese to put specific limitations on the period of rule of the king consort. The document notes that as the queen and the members of all the estates had

expressed their consent, “all of the kingdom of Navarre would obey her consort, under the name of king and he would always enjoy the benefits [of the position].”⁶² However, in spite of the word “always,” this position had a limited time frame. It was stipulated that when Juana and Philip’s heir “whether it will be a son or daughter” reached twenty-one, the couple would have to step aside or pay a hefty fine of 100,000 livres. Andre Favyn found this stipulation, indeed the very idea that subject could place limits on the sovereigns’ rule, shocking: “Let us consider here the blindness and the temerity of the Navarrese to want to give laws to their princes, from whom they should receive it.”⁶³ However, this stipulation is hardly surprising considering the recent history of the Capetian kings and particularly the rule of the previous king consort, Philip IV of France. Ultimately though, it proved to be a moot point as both spouses died before their son’s twenty-first birthday.

However, one of the most important areas of the document, which can definitely be traced in later marital and coronation agreements, concerns the role of the king consort after the death of the queen. If Juana died without a surviving heir, the coronation agreement of 1329 stipulated that the Cortes would consult the realm as to the designation of a new successor. If the queen left children behind, her consort could serve as regent until the heir was twenty-one. However, the children had the option of living “free from the company of their father,” but they would have to ensure that he was paid any outstanding compensation and rents that were due to him before he left the realm.⁶⁴ If the heir was over twenty-one years of age at the time of the queen’s death, the consort had to immediately turn over the government to the heir.

Although the Navarrese may have been drafting these restrictive accords in reaction to the fairly negative rule of the previous king consort, it is worth noting that Philip IV of France did turn over the Navarrese crown to his son Louis promptly on the death of his wife Juana I.⁶⁵ He did not retain the Navarrese title as a widower, and he allowed his son to travel to Pamplona to receive a full coronation. Thus these particular stipulations for the potential widowhood of Philip d’Evreux were not based directly on the precedent or actions of the previous king consort. However, the overall desire to limit and delineate the powers and prerogatives of the king consort in 1329 was clearly inspired by their recent experience of the governance of Philip IV of France who essentially usurped his wife’s role as sovereign.

Although Juana's rights were affirmed and protected by the agreement, Philip was ultimately allowed to participate fully in the administration and government of the realm. Juana's willingness to let her husband participate in governance was a key factor in the negotiations regarding Philip's role. The queen's wishes were stated in the coronation agreement where it was claimed that "her conscience would have much weight and doubt to have made a great sin if she did not grant satisfaction to the said king, her husband" to allow him to participate equally in governance.⁶⁶ That he did so effectively and successfully, promoting projects such as the *amejoramiento* of the *Fueros*, which had long-term benefits for the realm and ensuring that both he and the queen were visible on multiple visits to Navarre, reassured the Navarrese that a king consort was not always a poor ruler.

Internal Projects and International Alliances: Evaluating the Reign of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux

Although Philip d'Evreux was far more connected to Navarre than Philip IV of France was, he was still the lord of several important counties in Northern France. The royal couple had to balance the needs of their French territories alongside the rule of Navarre. Unlike the reign of her grandmother and Capetian predecessors, Juana II and Philip d'Evreux tried to split their time between all of their territories and maintain a presence in the French capital, in their Parisian palace, the Hôtel de Navarre, to further their interests as French princes of the blood. Their major journeys to Navarre took place between February 1329 to September 1331 and April 1336 to October 1337. Although this does not seem like a substantial amount of time for the sovereigns to be present, it was a vast improvement on the record of the Capetian dynasty. From the time Blanche of Artois left Pamplona in 1274 until the new sovereigns arrived in 1329, the rulers of Navarre had been completely absent, bar a brief appearance by Luis I (Louis X of France) for his coronation in 1307.

In addition, Philip d'Evreux made at least two other trips to Navarre without his wife in 1342 and again the following year, partly in preparation for his crusade with the King of Aragon. Fermín Miranda Garcia notes a document that suggests that he was also in Pamplona in 1335, although this does not seem completely plausible.⁶⁷ During Philip's absence, Juana remained in their French counties and took responsibility for the administration of these territories. This

entailed an interesting role reversal and demonstrated the flexibility of their partnership: that she could look after his ancestral domains while he attended to the needs of her Iberian subjects. Moreover, both roles were equally important: Philip's involvement in the crusade was a key part of developing better relations with their Iberian neighbors and visiting Navarre was also crucial in reassuring their subjects of their connection to the realm. However, Juana's presence in France was not only important to administer their French territory but also to remain connected to the political developments in the French court and maintain their family's stature as princes of the blood.

The evidence from their reign demonstrates that Juana and Philip were able to work jointly and separately in order to rule their domains as "Team Players." Although they generally chose to remain together, when necessary they were able to separate in order to ensure that all of their domains were governed effectively. This was a contrast to their predecessors, who rarely separated, which led to Navarre experiencing a prolonged absence of rule in absentia.

In some areas, one particular partner played a more prominent role, for example, Philip took on the bulk of the project of revising and streamlining the code of law for the realm.⁶⁸ This is arguably one of the most famous achievements of their reign, which is generally known as the *amejoramiento* or improvement of the law code or *Fueros*.

The couple worked together on developmental projects in Navarre and were active patrons.⁶⁹ They also embarked on economic projects, such as the construction of irrigation around Tudela in the arid southern end of the realm.⁷⁰ They also invested in the reparation and improvement of royal castles and built a new one at Castelrenault, near the northern border.⁷¹ With regard to religious patronage in the realm, the couple confirmed their grandparents' annual grant of 30 *cábhices* of grain to the Convent of Santa Clara of Tudela in 1330.⁷² During her widowhood, Juana founded the convent of San Francisco of Olite in 1345.⁷³ The queen also left a specific bequest in her will for the foundation of a chapel in Santa Maria of Olite, which her son Carlos II realized for her.⁷⁴

Juana II and Philip d'Evreux were also actively involved in delivering justice, an important royal prerogative. Immediately prior to their succession, during the interregnum period of 1328–39, there was a serious outbreak of violence toward the Jewish citizens in several major cities.⁷⁵ The new sovereigns spent the early years of their reign addressing the consequences of the outbreak, condemning

perpetrators and cities that had not reigned in the outbreaks of violence and assigning compensation for victims.⁷⁶ The couple also worked hard in the first years of their reign to combat the problem of banditry that was a serious concern in the realm. Felix Segura Urrea claims that this effort was “crucial in silencing rumors...against their capability to defend the community.”⁷⁷ The criminal records for their reign are well preserved and have been thoroughly analyzed in recent years by scholars including Segura Urrea and Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano on patterns of crime during the couple’s reign.⁷⁸ Although Segura Urrea suggests that the records make the couple’s reign appear to be a turbulent period with regard to crime, Beroiz Lazcano argues that the figures are in line with wider medieval norms. It may only be the couple’s desire to prosecute criminals and serve justice that served to create a perception of additional criminal activity. This strong record in turn fueled a positive perception of the royal couple’s joint rule, which can also be seen in the contemporary chronicle of Garci Lopez de Roncevalles which claims, “They were a good king and queen and well loved by all in their kingdom.”⁷⁹

In addition to their efforts to improve the kingdom internally and administer it effectively, the couple were also active jointly and individually with regard to international relations. They strived to create better relationships with their Iberian neighbors while maintaining a functional alliance with their French homeland and endeavoring to protect themselves from the outbreak of hostilities in the Hundred Years War. With regard to diplomacy, the couple worked jointly, but in some areas Juana and Philip each took on different aspects of the task. For example, Philip was closely involved with their neighbors in the planning and implementation of an Iberian crusade while Juana played a key role in matrimonial politics.⁸⁰

The accession of Juana II and the Evreux dynasty severed the direct linkage between the crowns of Navarre and France, although it did not entirely remove the entanglement in French politics. However, the Evreux dynasty did involve itself much more fully in Iberian politics and they built a balanced web of alliances through the marriages of their children. A particular emphasis of their matrimonial diplomacy was their efforts to contract marriage alliances with Navarre’s neighboring states with their daughters. Significantly, Juana orchestrated most of these matches as Philip died in 1343 while their children were still fairly young. Juan Carrasco Perez claims that Juana spent the bulk of her widowhood “braiding, with more or less success, the matrimonial alliances of her daughters.”⁸¹

Juana II and Philip d'Evreux were keen to build closer ties with their Iberian neighbors; this desire can be most clearly seen in their initiation of talks for a marriage between their eldest daughter, Juana, and Pedro, the heir of Aragon, shortly after their arrival in Navarre. Miranda Garcia suggests that a secondary motive was to prevent the heir of Aragon from marrying a Plantagenet princess in accordance with the French foreign policy objectives.⁸² However, the negotiations were quite protracted, and an agreement was not signed until April 1333.⁸³ One of the major points of negotiation was the various possible outcomes of the succession to the Navarrese throne. Pedro was already heir presumptive of Aragon, but during the period of negotiation (1329–33), the Queen of Navarre gave birth to two sons, Luis and Carlos, who displaced their sister in the line of succession. Nevertheless, the possibility that Juana might become the heiress was thoroughly explored and planned for. However, before the marriage could take place, there was a twist in the negotiations; the bride changed from Juana to the second daughter, Maria. Apparently, Juana professed a desire for the religious life and left Navarre to join the Franciscan convent at Longchamp, renouncing all claims to the throne. However, as Juana was a young girl, it is surprising that she could express such a strong preference or that her parents would allow her to opt out of the marriage.⁸⁴ It is possible that Juana had some sort of illness or defect that might have made her sister a more appealing choice of bride. This somewhat bizarre turn of events have led to some confusion among historians and chroniclers, and a tendency to mix up the elder Juana with a younger daughter named Juana, born in 1339, who later married Jean, the Viscount of Rohan.⁸⁵

Maria and Pedro were finally wed on July 25, 1338, and although there was some residual tension over the late payment of dowry installments, the marriage did serve to draw the two realms closer together.⁸⁶ The involvement of Juana II in the negotiations with Aragon, both before and after the marriage, can be seen in a series of documents initiated by the queen culminating in a formal declaration of alliance between the two realms issued shortly before her death in August 1349.⁸⁷

In addition to marriages that would secure the borders of their Pyrenean kingdom, Juana II and Philip d'Evreux also looked for marriages in Northern France that would strengthen their position as major territorial lords of the region. Once the Aragonese marriage was secure, they attempted to broker a marriage between their son

and heir, Carlos, with Jeanne de Penthievre, the heiress presumptive of Brittany. However, this alliance failed to come to fruition, and the Breton heiress was wed instead to Charles of Blois, nephew of Philip VI of France. Marie-Laure Surget noted the danger of the proposed Navarrese-Breton match to the King of France, with its potential to create a massive block of united territories across the north of France, leaving the Valois king little choice but to put a stop to the intended alliance.⁸⁸

Undeterred by this setback, Juana and Philip tried another northern alliance, this time between their daughter Blanche and Louis, the son and heir of the Count of Flanders, in 1339.⁸⁹ The marital agreement was signed in Paris on March 15, 1340, and although the alliance was extremely advantageous to the Navarrese, this time the match had the blessing of the King of France.⁹⁰ However, the betrothal was scuppered by the outbreak of hostilities between France and England, which heralded the start of the Hundred Years War. By 1345, Philip VI of France needed to secure the support of Jean, Duke of Brabant, against the English and threw his support behind a marriage between Margaret of Brabant and the Flemish heir instead.

Juana immediately redeployed her daughter in another alliance that would have a greater benefit for Navarre: a match between Blanche and Pedro, the heir of Castile. This marriage would help restore relations with their powerful Iberian neighbors, which had been at a low point after an armed conflict with Castile in 1335. Upon their accession in 1328, Juana II and Philip d'Evreux had been quick to establish peaceful relations with their neighbors, contracting the aforementioned marital alliance with Aragon and signing a peace treaty with Castile in 1330.⁹¹ However, tensions flared with Castile over a border dispute in 1332 and finally erupted into a conflict in the second half of 1335, with Navarre receiving crucial support from their Aragonese son-in-law.⁹² A peace treaty, signed on February 28, 1336, ended the conflict, and Juana personally issued two charters in April 1336 to resolve the differences with Castile over the ownership of the monastery at Fitero, which had been at the center of the dispute.⁹³

In addition to protecting their own frontiers, Jose Maria Lacarra suggested that a marriage between the House of Evreux and Castile would improve Franco-Castilian relations and cause the King of Castile's friendship with the English to wither.⁹⁴ The betrothal was also warmly welcomed by the pope who wrote to the King of Castile and the archbishop of Toledo about the match.⁹⁵ An accord was signed on July 1, 1345, which set the dowry at 300,000 florins.⁹⁶ However, the

match failed to come to fruition. The next matrimonial possibility for Blanche of Navarre was a marriage to Jean (later Jean II “le Bon”) of France but instead she married his father, Philip VI de Valois, in January 1350, roughly six months after her mother’s death.⁹⁷

Juana’s daughter Agnes made a strategic marriage to their Pyrenean neighbor Gaston Phébus of Foix.⁹⁸ The counts of Foix were already allies of the Navarrese, and their military assistance in the 1335 dispute with Castile had been significant, resulting in a payment to the count in 1336 for his services.⁹⁹ Phébus’s biographer, Richard Vernier, comments on the perception of a prospective match between Foix and Navarre:

To all appearances it was a marriage made in heaven: not only did it serve the political and economic interests of two neighboring states, but it also sanctioned the ties of friendship between two families... Moreover, France applauded a match that would make the Count of Foix a member of the extended royal family.¹⁰⁰

Béatrice Leroy notes that the match was orchestrated by two widows: Juana and Aliénor, the Countess Dowager of Foix.¹⁰¹ The Countess of Foix and her son traveled to the Ile de France in the Spring of 1349, and the details of the marital agreements were hammered out. Juana issued a document on May 5, 1349, which lists Agnes’s dowry: 20,000 livres tournois and another 20,000 livres that would come from the rents of territories to be assigned to the couple.¹⁰² The territories in question were provided by Philip VI of France in July 1349 and included several territories in the *sénéchausée* of Toulouse, and Gaston of Foix added another 5,000 livres in rents to his bride’s settlement.¹⁰³ Sadly, Juana’s death from the plague in October of the same year meant that the dowry was not fully paid, which caused an underlying tension that led to disastrous problems later in the couple’s marriage and a rupture between Navarre and Foix.¹⁰⁴

Juana’s sons all married after her death. Her eldest son and heir married Jeanne de Valois, Princess of France, in 1352. In addition, two of Juana’s sons made marriages with wider political reach: Philip married Yolande of Flanders and Luis married Jeanne of Durazzo, a potential heiress of the Kingdom of Naples.¹⁰⁵ In summary, the marital alliances of Juana’s children show a balanced scheme: building bonds with their immediate neighbors, serving the political needs of their cousin and overlord, the King of France, and making wider connections beyond their immediate frontiers.¹⁰⁶

Partnership and Widowhood

The assessment of the reign of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux reflects their efforts on behalf of Navarre and their tendency to work as an effective partnership. It is more difficult to assess the state of their personal relationship; unlike their predecessors, Juana I and Philip of France, there is no contemporary evidence that would indicate either an extreme closeness or any particular difficulties. Additionally, their predecessors had been fairly close in age, while there was a ten-year age gap between Juana and Philip d'Evreux. Juana was only seven when she was married, while Philip was seventeen.¹⁰⁷ Juana was sent to live with Philip's grandmother, Marie of Brabant, Philip III's widow, and may have stayed there until Marie's death in 1321. Although Juana lived in the Evreux domains, the couple were not raised together as their predecessors had been, as Philip d'Evreux was effectively a grown man when they married. Their marriage was not consummated until Juana reached her teens in 1324.¹⁰⁸ However, their fairly rare periods of separation and their sizable family attest to their bond. Moreover, Juana's explicit willingness to share power with her husband is some testimony to her regard for her husband.

As political partners, they were able to balance their various roles; as king and queen of Navarre, as territorial lords in France, and as Capetian princes of the blood. They were able to work apart or together in order to carry out each of these roles, and they did this with a fair amount of success. Moreover, the couple were perceived as genuine partners. The Principe de Viana echoes this positive sentiment by describing the couple in his chronicle as "those glorious kings."¹⁰⁹ It is noteworthy that Garci Lopez repeatedly refers to the couple as "*rey et reyna*" or "king and queen," whereas he most often refers to Juana's grandparents as "Philip the Fair, husband of the said Juana de Navarra."¹¹⁰

The partnership of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux could be described as "Team Players," administering their territories jointly and above all effectively. Juana and Philip were able to work well on a joint basis and were able to separate and work on different aspects of administration when the situation demanded it. It is important to note, however, that although their power-sharing dynamic was somewhat flexible and equitable, it was not exactly equal. This lack of strict equality did not hinder the effectiveness of the couple's rule. In the case of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux, it could be argued that

Philip took a slightly more dominant role. Although Philip was keen to stress his dominance and the head of their family, the couple functioned well as a political and personal partnership. Although Philip d'Evreux has often received the credit for the beneficial impact of their reign through his work on the *amejoramiento* of the *Fueros*, it is important to recognize Juana's involvement in the administration of the realm, in diplomatic negotiations, and in the forging of marital alliances that were also crucial for the benefit of the realm. The overall positive impact of their reign is due to both of their efforts, on a joint and individual basis.

However, Juana II used her ability to exercise sole authority after her husband's death to implement political strategies that were both in line with her own personal interests and responsive to international developments. The example of Juana II's personal rule as a widow is an interesting one to examine with regard to the wider study of female rule, as examples of widowed queens regnant are rare. Most women who gain access to power through widowhood do so as regents, as in the situation of her ancestors Blanche of Artois, regent of Navarre, and Blanca of Navarre, countess regent of Champagne. There have been several well-studied examples of queens consort who were able to exercise power as regents, particularly in France with medieval regents such as Blanche of Castile and Early Modern examples like Catherine de Medici.¹¹¹ However, the transition of power for a widowed queen consort is different to that of a queen regnant. In the case of a queen consort, becoming a regent in effect changes her from consort to sovereign, whereas for a queen regnant, the transition is from joint sovereign to sole rule. In both cases, the access to power and responsibility is increased, but the fundamental position of the queen regnant does not change.

Juana II's widowhood began when her husband, Philip d'Evreux, died in September 1343 while on crusade with the King of Aragon.¹¹² The full responsibility for the governance of Navarre fell to Juana, as the hereditary monarch. In addition, she was also responsible for the continued administration of the couple's French territories that her husband had bequeathed to their son.¹¹³ This was not only a heavy responsibility, but also a political opportunity for Juana. Although the couple appears to have had a fairly equitable and harmonious personal and political partnership and a successful joint reign, becoming the sole ruler allowed Juana the freedom to exercise the royal prerogative in whatever way she saw fit and make changes in praxis or policy where she felt it was appropriate.

While it appears that Juana made some preparations for a return to Navarre in 1344, she did not revisit the realm before she died in 1349.¹¹⁴ However, this does not demonstrate a lack of regard for her realm or a lack of interest in ruling directly. Juana fully exercised her royal prerogative, albeit through governors, during her widowhood. However, Juana had legitimate reasons for her continued presence in France. One was the needs of her large brood of young children, including two who were still toddlers at the time of their father's death. The second was political: the onset of hostilities in the Hundred Years War required Juana to be vigilant in order to protect the French territories that formed a significant part of her children's inheritance. In addition, the threat of battle in Northern France or in the Aquitaine made it much more difficult to travel south to Pamplona.

Juana continued to remain actively involved in the governance of Navarre, even if she was unable to make a physical return to the realm. The queen sent numerous missives with detailed instructions to her governors and was willing to make changes if she felt her governors were not implementing her instructions effectively. At the beginning of her sole reign, she dismissed the couple's long-term representative Philip de Melun.¹¹⁵ She initially installed Guillermo de Brahe, but removed him several months later and replaced him with Jean de Conflans.¹¹⁶ Her involvement in the governance of the realm was wide reaching, including initiating reform against corruption and ruling on the treatment of debtors.¹¹⁷ The queen's interest in and instructions on detailed matters can be seen in her specific request to pardon two shoemakers from Tudela who were accused of assault in 1346.¹¹⁸

One area that Juana had been keenly involved in during their joint rule was in foreign policy, especially with regard to matrimonial alliances as discussed previously. Even though she remained in France, she kept a close watch on Iberian affairs. One example of her continued contact with her Iberian counterparts is an order issued by Alfonso XI of Castile to his citizens to desist in their attacks on several Navarrese towns, specifically in response to Juana's protest.¹¹⁹

Juana made her most profound shift from the foreign policy of their joint reign in regard to relations with France. Philip d'Evreux had always been a loyal vassal of the King of France, as a prince of the blood and a key ally both in Northern France and the Pyrenees. However, Miranda Garcia notes a distinct change in Juana's attitude after Philip's death, claiming the queen displayed "a manifestly

vindictive posture” toward the French crown.¹²⁰ As evidence, Miranda Garcia cites the virtual abandonment of their Parisian residence, where they had previously spent a great deal of time, and an increasingly competitive attitude about alliances with Castile and Aragon. Juana also became more demanding about her rights, pursuing negotiations with the French king over disputed territories and dues. She complained in 1345 that the revenues of the county of Angoulême did not match what she had originally been promised and eventually negotiated an exchange for more strategic castles closer to Paris.¹²¹

The position of her territories, in Normandy as well as on the borders of English territory in Aquitaine, gave her considerable political leverage as the Hundred Years War began. The French king and the Duke of Normandy were forced to obtain Juana’s consent and negotiate accords with her in 1343 and 1348 regarding the crucial levy of troops in Normandy as the Evreux holdings there were considerable. Philip Charon suggests that these agreements might indicate “a deliberate policy of the countess (Juana) aimed at freeing her principality from the direct hold of the king.”¹²² Moreover, Raymond Cazelles notes a potentially provocative agreement that Juana forged in 1348 with Edward III of England to let his partisans pass through her territories. Under the terms of this agreement, the queen promised not to build any new fortifications or to allow the French to occupy any of her existing strongholds, in return for safe passage for herself and her children.¹²³

Although Juana’s policies during this period are often interpreted as the precursors of her son Carlos II or Charles “the Bad,” it may be that Juana had merely abandoned the couple’s previous loyalty to France in order to ensure the security of their territories in the face of an increasingly heated political situation between her French and English cousins. Her willingness to work with Edward of England in particular makes more sense with regard to safe passage, as she would need to either sail in English waters or cross through Edward’s lands in Aquitaine and Gascony to access Navarre. Viewed with these objectives in mind, her actions appear more politically shrewd and less like the vindictive decisions of a failed claimant to the French throne. Miranda Garcia takes a similar view, arguing that in her widowhood Juana “quickly demonstrated her qualities for governance, both in Navarre and in her French lordships.”¹²⁴

In summary, Juana II and Philip d’Evreux appear to have ruled jointly as true and fairly equitable partners or “Team Players.” Juana’s

rights as hereditary sovereign were acknowledged and honored, but her husband was given full access to rule Navarre in tandem with her. During some periods of their marriage, they effectively swapped territories, as in the period of 1342–43 when Philip was in Iberia while Juana remained in France, overseeing her husband's ancestral domains. However, the changes in policy and personnel made by the queen during her widowhood may indicate some divergence of opinion between the couple or may simply reflect the queen's need to shift her policies to fit with the fluid political situation.



CHAPTER 4

BLANCA I: THE PEACEMAKER

Out of all of the reigning queens of Navarre, Blanca I is the one who has attracted the greatest amount of academic study. There are several reasons why she has garnered so much attention. One is her relatively long reign that immediately followed the “golden age” of her father, Carlos III, and was thoroughly entangled with the significant contemporary developments in neighboring Aragon and Castile. Another factor is her fascinating career as Queen of Sicily, both before and after the death of her first husband, Martín of Aragon, which has intrigued both Iberian and Italian scholars. There is also a substantial amount of documentary evidence from her reign including charters, diplomatic missives, and records of her household and expenditure that have been preserved in the Navarrese archives, enabling studies of her court and the politics of her era. There is also a sense, perhaps, that Blanca is the most “Navarrese” of their reigning queens, the only one untainted by ties to France and undoubtedly the most Iberian in outlook of the five women who ruled this Pyrenean realm. In many ways, Blanca could be identified as “the Trastámara queen” as her destiny was tied up with this Castilian dynasty to which her mother and her second husband belonged. Certainly the political challenges of her reign as Queen of Navarre were thoroughly driven by the ambition and rivalries of the Trastámara clan as they came to dominate the Iberian peninsula.

Childhood: Parental Conflict and Succession Crises

The marriage of Blanca’s parents, Carlos III of Navarre and Leonor de Trastámara, the daughter of Enrique II of Castile, in 1375 was intended to ensure stability on the Castilian frontier and serve as “the fundamental pillar of a new peninsular understanding.” At the time of their marriage, both spouses were in their early teens, Carlos was still the heir to the Navarrese throne and it appears that Leonor remained in Castile while Carlos split his time between Navarre,

visits to his bride in Castile, and diplomatic trips to Paris for his father. During one of these French embassies in 1378, Carlos was detained in the capital until 1381 when the advent of a new French king, Jean II, healed the rift between Navarre and France.² Back in Castile, Leonor played a key role in persuading her brother, the King of Castile, to apply diplomatic pressure to help secure her husband's release.³ On his return from France, Carlos rejoined his wife in Castile and their first child, Juana, was born shortly afterward on November 9, 1382.⁴ A second daughter, Maria, was born in Castile in either 1383 or 1384.⁵ Blanca was the next child of their union, born in Castile in August 1385. Mercedes Gaibrois Ballesteros has suggested that Blanca and her younger sister Beatriz were in fact twins; however, Jose Ramon Castro Alava has argued convincingly with supportive documentary evidence that Beatriz and her twin were born in 1386, a year after Blanca's birth, and claims that Beatriz's twin sister did not survive.⁶

The year 1387 was a decisive one in the couple's lives. On the 1st of January, Carlos II died, and Carlos and Leonor became the new rulers of Navarre. Leonor left Castile with her young daughters to take her place at her husband's side in her newly acquired kingdom. However, shortly after the queen arrived in Navarre, she fell desperately ill, and it was feared that she would die.⁷ When her health began to recover, Leonor decided to return to Castile to recuperate and took her daughters with her. The queen did not return to Navarre for seven years. Both the *Crónica* of Juan I of Castile and Moret's *Anales* discuss the reasons for the queen's prolonged absence. According to these sources, Leonor's brother, Juan I of Castile, was happy to receive her initially, but when she showed no signs of returning to her husband, he began to castigate her for failing in her wifely duties, stating that as a queen she had "great obligations" that she needed to fulfill.⁸ According to Moret, Leonor responded by claiming that since she arrived in Navarre, her husband "had not received me or treated me as he ought to."⁹ The queen complained that she had to pawn her jewels to maintain her household and claimed that her illness had been aggravated by herbs proscribed by a Jewish doctor, which her husband had pressured her to take.¹⁰ The Castilian *Crónica* of Juan I took a similar but stronger line on the story, in which Leonor accused her husband of maltreatment, and claims that the herbs from the Jewish doctor were an attempt to poison her.¹¹ Embassies were sent from Navarre in an attempt to bring the queen back to her husband, assuring her that she would be "treated with the

courtesy and respect which corresponded to her duties."¹² However, Leonor persistently refused to return to Navarre and her prolonged stay at the Castilian court did not help relations between the two neighboring kingdoms.

Ultimately, the royal couple were able to repair their marriage in large part due to a series of moves on the part of Carlos III to alleviate the concerns that had created a rupture between the royal couple. It appears that the issue at the heart of the matter was the queen's concerns about Carlos's illegitimate offspring. Moret alleges that the queen's illness had left her extremely low and melancholic and insinuates that the source of her depression was concern about the succession and Carlos's illegitimate children.¹³ Ballesteros claims that upon the queen's entry to Navarre in 1386, she encountered Carlos's mistress Maria Miguel de Esparza and her infant son, Lancelot, who were based at the Navarrese court.¹⁴ Documentary evidence from a prosopographic study of the queen's household confirms the presence of Maria Miguel de Esparza, her son, and their servants in the court as well as three further mistresses, a half a dozen illegitimate children and a substantial number of retainers who were connected to illegitimate members of the royal family.¹⁵ Although it was certainly not unusual for kings to have mistresses and illegitimate offspring, it is possible the queen was angry or her pride was wounded when she was confronted with the physical proof of her husband's infidelity. More practically, it appears that Leonor was concerned about the possibility that her four young daughters might be displaced by her husband's son, despite the fact that this would clearly contravene the regulation of the succession in the *Fueros*.

From a Castilian perspective, the queen's concern about the succession was understandable. Although the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X did make allowances for daughters to inherit the crown, Castile's experience of female rule to date had not been entirely positive. The reign of Urraca in the twelfth century had been both controversial and stormy and led to a prolonged war with Aragon-Navarre. In the thirteenth century, Berenguela of Castile had been formally nominated as heir before the birth of a son, but her regency for her brother was a failure, and after his death she was obliged to share power with her son rather than rule outright in her own name. Moreover, Leonor's own dynasty of Trastámara had been founded by an illegitimate son.

In 1390, Carlos made his first move to reassure his wife of his intention to ensure that only the children of their marriage would succeed him. He summoned their eldest daughter, Juana, back to Navarre for

a formal ceremony to confirm her as his heir. The ceremony took place in front of the Navarrese nobility and Castilian ambassadors on July 25, 1390, and formally named Juana as his heir, in default of any legitimate male heirs which might yet be born.¹⁶

This ceremony was not enough to convince the queen of his good intentions toward her or her children, and the queen remained in Castile. However, the situation changed after the death of her brother in late 1390, as her nephew, the new King of Castile Enrique III, was less supportive of her position. After she refused to listen to his entreaties to return to her husband in Navarre, the young King of Castile took a more aggressive stance toward his aunt, seizing her lands and eventually besieging her in her castle at Roa. Eventually, the chronicler Moret claims that, Enrique took pity on his “helpless” aunt and allowed her to go to Valladolid, on condition that it was only a stop en route back to her husband in Navarre.¹⁷

It appears that one of the conditions that the queen made for her return was that her husband must swear publicly to uphold her position. Carlos accordingly swore on the cross that he “...would not kill, nor maim, nor seize nor allow her to be killed, maimed or seized... that he would protect the life and health of the said queen with all of his power. And he would otherwise treat [her] in all things as a good husband should treat his wife.”¹⁸ Once this oath had been taken in front of the Castilian ambassadors, Leonor set out for the Castilian-Navarrese frontier and met her husband in Tudela in late November 1394.

In July 1396, proof of the couple’s reconciliation was the birth of another daughter, Isabel. In September of the same year, Carlos III recognized the position of all of his daughters by the queen as his heirs and drew up documents to affirm their rights to the throne.¹⁹ The ability of his daughters to succeed him according to tradition, custom, and law is clearly stated:

Due to a lack of legitimate male sons... the succession of the said kingdom according to the laws and customs of Navarre, the said daughters of ours will be held to be the first by law to the land of Navarre.²⁰

One of these succession documents pertains directly to Blanca; it is in effect her response to being designated as a potential heiress.²¹ In this document, she swore to uphold the *Fueros*, in accordance with traditional Navarrese law and custom for all heirs and sovereigns, and notes her own place in the line of succession:

Ourselves[or Myself, i.e. Blanca], the said daughter of the most high and excellent prince Don Carlos, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Count of Evreux, our father and lord recognizes by right that . . . from now to after the days of our lord and father and of our sisters Lady Juana and Lady Maria and their offspring and legitimate line as each ought to be, to [be] lady queen and heiress of the said kingdom in default of legitimate male heirs of our said lord and father and the offspring and legitimate line of said son.²²

The birth of this long-awaited legitimate son in June 1397 altered the order of succession; the new Infante Carlos was quickly confirmed as the new heir to the throne, but his sisters' place in the succession and their general importance was also reconfirmed. The Cortes was summoned to Olite in November 1398 and a ceremony was held to mark the prince's birth and place as heir. However, it is specifically noted that this was done "with the assistance of his sisters . . . the illustrious and high" princesses, Juana, Maria, Blanca, Beatriz, and Isabel, who were noted as being present at the ceremony.²³

The birth of a second son, Luis, shortly after was a triumph for the royal couple, and plans were put in place for a coronation ceremony for the queen, which was an unusual occurrence in Navarre, particularly after so much time had passed since the couple's wedding and her husband's accession to the throne. Carlos's own coronation had taken place in 1390, while his estranged wife was living in Castile. However, the queen's coronation was delayed by the untimely deaths of both sons. It finally took place on June 3, 1403, in the Cathedral of Pamplona. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros noted the proponderance of green, which the queen appears to have adopted as her personal color, as well as the opulence of the coronation itself and the great celebratory banquet that followed.²⁴

The queen's coronation in many ways put a final seal on the marital difficulties that had plagued Carlos III and Leonor de Trastámara. However, her parents' estrangement had a profound effect on Blanca's life and later reign. It appears that Blanca and her younger sister Beatriz remained with her mother for the duration of her stay in Castile, returning in 1394.²⁵ Undoubtedly, Blanca's formative years were subject to intensive Castilian influence, between her birth and childhood in Castile and the Castilian flavor that Leonor brought to the Navarrese court upon her return to Navarre.²⁶ Blanca might have also absorbed lessons in queenship from her strong-willed mother, including Leonor's keen defense of her position, the queen's

diplomatic efforts to broker peace between rival factions in Castile after the death of her brother Juan I in 1390, and Leonor's effective stewardship of the realm during several periods when Carlos entrusted the kingdom to her as regent while he was away from Navarre.²⁷ The clarity and repeated confirmation of the order of succession that healed the rift in her parents marriage also smoothed Blanca's own path to the throne. Finally, the Iberian influence of Blanca's Castilian childhood would be compounded by Blanca's two Aragonese marriages, which would in turn impel Navarre away from the French orbit and fully enmesh it in the turbulent Trastámara politics of the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century.

Marriages for the Infantas

With the rift in the royal marriage healed and the succession seemingly secure, Carlos turned his attention to matrimonial diplomacy. Much of the credit for the peace and prosperity of his rule was due to the effective manner in which he dealt with his female relatives, including his sisters and both his legitimate and illegitimate daughters to guarantee good relations with his neighbors and nobles through marital bonds.²⁸

The most intensive period of negotiations for Carlos was between 1396 and 1406 when he secured the marriages of two of his sisters and three of his legitimate daughters, arguably the bulk of his most valuable playing cards in the game of matrimonial diplomacy. Carlos carefully considered his marital alliances and crafted a balanced web of connections, primarily among his closest neighbors in Iberia and the *Midi*, but with an eye to wider contacts where viable. Although Carlos had little influence in the two marriages of his sister Juana, the widow of Jean V of Brittany and later Queen of England through her marriage to Henry IV, she gave Navarre important diplomatic connections to the North.²⁹ Carlos's illegitimate offspring were married to key nobles within the realm to ensure their support and loyalty.³⁰

The importance of the alliances gained through the marriages of the *infantas* or princesses can be seen in documentary evidence from this period. All of the cities of the realm were required to contribute to the expenses of coronations and the marriages of the *infantas*. A common reward for services to the crown would be an exemption from taxes and tributes, although it was specifically noted that this would not include the marriages of princesses.³¹ The five marriages

of Carlos's legitimate daughters created considerable expense, which he struggled to fund. These strategic marital connections required the payments of expensive dowries and lavish festivities, but they were worth investing in for the diplomatic benefits that the realm would gain.

Carlos strategically married his sister Maria to Alfonso of Aragon, Count of Denia, and the Pyrenean county of Ribagorza in 1396.³² His next matrimonial project was to marry his eldest daughter, Juana, to Jean I, Count of Foix, who was Ribagorza's immediate neighbor on the French side of the Pyrenees. The wealthy and influential Counts of Foix had long been important neighbors for Navarre, and by the end of the fifteenth century, the fates of the two territories would be closely intertwined. This proposed marriage between Juana and Jean of Foix was a means to mend fences between the two houses after the disastrous marriage of Juana II's daughter Agnes of Navarre and Gaston Phébus of Foix in 1349. As mentioned previously, their marriage had been engineered by their respective mothers with the blessing of the King of France who felt this was an excellent way to bind the Counts of Foix to the French crown through a marriage to one of his close kinswomen. However, Juana II's death from plague in the same year of their marriage created difficulties with the payment of the bride's dowry and created a long-running dispute that appears to have contributed significantly to the breakdown of the marriage.

One of the early documents in this dispute notes the groom's receipt of only 1,000 livres of the 20,000 promised in the summer of 1349.³³ Another 1,000 arrived via the executors of Juana's will later that year.³⁴ Although Gaston did receive additional payment from Agnes's brother, Juana's successor Carlos II, the full amount does not appear to have been paid.³⁵

Moreover, there is evidence that Gaston of Foix did not honor his side of the marital accords either. Froissart chronicled the breakdown of their marriage and the relationship between Foix and Navarre in his famous work.³⁶ In his version of the tale, Agnes is sent back to Navarre in order to obtain payment from her brother for the ransom money for the Lord of Albret, which was set at 50,000 francs. When Agnes arrived in Navarre, Froissart imagined that the following conversation took place between the king and his sister:

My dear sister, the money is yours since the Count of Foix owes it to you as your marriage settlement, but it shall never leave the Kingdom of Navarre as long as I am in control of it.

Ah my lord, that is a certain way of stirring up hatred between my husband and us. If you persist in what you have just said, I shall never dare to return to Foix, for my husband would say that I had deceived him and would kill me.³⁷

Tucoc-Chala notes that Froissart's version of the story is not entirely accurate and mentions that the breakdown of the marriage may not have fully hinged on this disagreement, as there is evidence that the couple was effectively estranged for some period before Agnes left Foix.³⁸ However, there is no doubt that the failure of both parties to meet the terms of the marital agreement was a significant part of the couple's problems. Moreover, the dispute continued to escalate as Agnes demanded not only the payments originally due to her but a huge inventory of items belonging to her which she had left behind in Foix.³⁹

This dispute eventually involved the pope and the King of France, who both felt it necessary to intervene in an attempt to resolve the situation.⁴⁰ However, the resolution did not occur until after the death of Gaston Phébus in 1391. At this point Carlos II had also passed away and the Navarrese throne had fallen to Carlos III, who was keen to sort out the dispute once and for all and improve relations with Foix. The following year there was a push to resolve the issue; the Navarrese claimed that Agnes must have her items returned or be paid compensation of 20,000 livres.⁴¹ Charles VI of France recommended that her goods be restored to her and an annual rent of 2,000 livres paid, although the final outcome was a settlement of 15,000 gold florins.⁴²

Only ten years after the 1392 negotiations, Agnes's nephew, Carlos III, was forging another marriage with Foix for his daughter Juana in order to rebuild the relationship with the Counts of Foix. As the eldest daughter, Juana was already a valuable commodity for marital negotiation; however, her worth improved when her brother Carlos died on August 12, 1402, in the middle of the negotiations for her marriage. Juana's younger brother Luis had also passed away within months of his birth, and once again the royal couple were left without a legitimate male heir.⁴³ Although Osés Urricelqui claims the Infante's death "definitively truncated the hopes for a male heir to the Navarrese throne," the queen did produce another child, Margarita, the following year, and Carlos optimistically left a rider in his will of 1412 for any posthumous sons that she might bear.⁴⁴

The death of the young princes saw Juana returned to the position of heiress in 1402, with her sisters immediately behind her in the

order of succession. Juana's marriage in October 1402 now meant that the County of Foix, with all of its considerable subsidiary territory, would be united with the Kingdom of Navarre through the marriage of their respective heirs. In December 1402, the newly married *primogenita* Juana and her husband, Jean of Foix, were brought to Olite in order to take an oath to uphold the *Fueros* once they became the rulers of Navarre.⁴⁵ Both spouses individually promised to uphold the *Fueros*, and in Jean of Foix's copy it was noted that although "the right pertained to her [Juana] as previously stated," as her husband he would have the right to participate in government, with the proviso that he could not name foreigners to the high offices of the realm.⁴⁶ Juana and her husband remained as the heirs to the throne for over ten years, and Juana shared the governance of the realm with her mother while Carlos III was at the French court between 1408 to 1411, seeking a settlement for their lost French territories.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, Juana died in July 1413 without issue, temporarily ending the possibility of a Foix-Navarre union.⁴⁸

Concurrently, with the negotiations for Juana's marriage to the Count of Foix, Carlos was negotiating a marital alliance with another powerful neighbor, the Crown of Aragon. The King of Aragon, Martín *el Humano*, made an initial expression of interest in a Navarrese bride for his son and heir, Martín, the recently widowed King of Sicily. This was a flattering offer as the Aragonese king had rejected the possibility of a marriage to the daughters of the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, and the King of England as well as Giovanna II of Naples in favor of a Navarrese match.⁴⁹ Salvatore Fodale argued that the choice of Navarrese bride demonstrates the primacy of Iberian interests in Aragon's foreign policy.⁵⁰ Similarly, Carlos's interest in the match also shows his focus on building closer relations with his Iberian neighbors. His own marriage to Leonor of Trastámara had created a bond with Castile, and Carlos now looked to achieve a similar alliance with Aragon.⁵¹

Both parties sent representatives to the Navarro-Aragonese frontier in the winter of 1401–02 to negotiate the marital contract. Initially there was no specific daughter selected, although Carlos had five unmarried daughters to choose from. Blanca, the third daughter, was eventually chosen, in preference to the eldest daughter, Juana, who later made the aforementioned marriage with the heir of the Count of Foix.⁵² Castro Alava claims that the King of Aragon rejected Juana as he did not want the marriage to lead to a merger of the two kingdoms.⁵³ It must be noted that at this point, Juana was

not yet returned to the position of heiress, although she was next in line after her brother Carlos. Intriguingly however, in 1388 when Juana was heiress before the birth of her brothers, she had been originally intended for Martín's nephew, Jaime of Aragon, who was set to rule Navarre alongside Juana if Carlos had died without male heirs.⁵⁴ Jaime's early death and the birth of two Navarrese princes ended the possibility of an Aragonese merger through marriage. In 1401 however, Martín *el Humano* did not wish to pursue this option and Carlos's negotiations with Foix suggest that he may have preferred a potential merger with the French county, where Navarre would theoretically be the dominant partner in any projected union.

Blanca was also chosen ahead of her elder sister, Maria. There have been suggestions that this was due to Blanca's legendary beauty and virtuous qualities, although the reason is more likely to stem from Maria's poor health.⁵⁵ Maria was gravely ill at the same time as her mother when they arrived in Navarre in 1387, and it appears that her health remained fragile. Maria remained at home with her parents for her short life and passed away in May 1406. If she was known to have delicate health, that may have precluded her selection as the Aragonese were effectively looking for a brood mare due to the fact that the succession rested on the potential progeny of the king's only son.

Thus during 1401 and 1402, Carlos was simultaneously arranging Juana's marriage with Jean of Foix and conducting negotiations with the Aragonese for Blanca's first marriage, and therefore had to fund two significant dowries in order to secure these important alliances.⁵⁶ Unsurprisingly, Carlos found it difficult to meet the payment deadlines for Blanca's hefty 100,000 florin dowry. This difficulty was compounded by the marriage of his fourth daughter Beatriz to Jacques de Bourbon in 1406, which carried a dowry of another 60,000 florins.⁵⁷ Carlos accordingly struggled to make payments to his two French sons-in-law and the powerful King of Aragon.⁵⁸ Carlos's financial difficulties strained the relationship between the two kingdoms, which Blanca's marriage had been intended to ameliorate. Carlos was only able to offer partial payment for the series of deadlines specified in the marital contract. This led to a series of renegotiations of the payment installments and forced the King of Navarre to liquidate some of the royal jewels or offer particular pieces as surety for the outstanding portion of the dowry.⁵⁹ The King of Aragon was particularly aggravated by the lack of payment as he was also short of funds, which forced him to borrow 15,000 florins from the merchants of Barcelona in order to pay for the wedding

festivities for the new couple and a coronation for his son's Navarrese bride.⁶⁰

Queen of Sicily

Blanca arrived in Sicily in 1402 and began her new life as the queen of the island kingdom. Her position was always insecure and became increasingly precarious as her tenure continued. The uncertainty stemmed from Aragon's somewhat tenuous grasp on the island, which had been particularly shaky from the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁶¹ Her husband's position as King of Sicily had been based primarily on the claim of his first wife, Maria. Maria's death in 1401 had cast doubt on his continued rule; Tramontana argued that the impressive wedding festivities for Blanca and Martín's marriage were designed to reinforce Martín's position with regard to his somewhat ambiguous right to the Sicilian throne.⁶²

Blanca's role as queen consort was both multifaceted and challenging. As the succession of Aragon rested on her ability to produce an heir, one of her primary duties was to bear a son.⁶³ This would not only ensure dynastic continuity in Aragon, but also reinforce the alliance between Navarre and Aragon and stabilize both her and her husband's position in Sicily. Despite Blanca's youth, good health, and pedigree from a fertile family, she struggled to fulfill this aspect of her role with an early miscarriage and several years with no sign of pregnancy. Her in-laws repeatedly wrote to enquire, very directly, about her condition, including one letter that stated, "We have a most great desire to know if you are pregnant."⁶⁴ Finally, in the beginning of 1407, Blanca did give birth to the long-awaited heir, named Martín after his father and grandfather, but sadly the infant died shortly after his birth.⁶⁵

Blanca arguably found greater success in the political sphere of her role, serving as queen-lieutenant and ruling the island kingdom during her husband's absences. This unusual queenly position had been developed by the Aragonese in response to the challenges of administering their extensive Mediterranean empire.⁶⁶ As the king could not be physically present in Barcelona, Valencia, Catania, and later Naples at once, entrusting the queen and/or the heir to the throne to rule with the king's authority over a particular area of the empire could provide continuity of rule by those who could be theoretically trusted to have the king and the dynasty's best interests at heart. Blanca's mother-in-law, Maria de Luna, was an extremely

able queen-lieutenant, and Martín may have been encouraged by his parents' example to allow Blanca to share in the governance of their Sicilian kingdom.⁶⁷

Blanca served as queen-lieutenant twice during her husband's lifetime. The first occasion when Martín needed to return to Aragon to meet with his father in 1404, Blanca performed the role "with prudence and ability."⁶⁸ She coped well with the challenging political climate of Sicily, which Bisson has termed a "seething cockpit" and managed to contain an uprising in Messina during her husband's absence.⁶⁹ Blanca was once again appointed to the lieutenancy when her husband left Sicily on August 13, 1408, to fight a group of rebels in Sardinia.⁷⁰ However, shortly after winning a major victory against the rebels at Sanduri, Martín was struck down by illness and died on July 25, 1409.⁷¹

For the next five years, Blanca was forced to manage in the most difficult of circumstances. Her failure to produce a child meant that the Aragonese succession and their hold on the island of Sicily were both insecure. She had no innate right to the crown of Sicily but the Aragonese needed her to continue in her post while they attempted to deal with the tangled issue of the succession on the mainland. Blanca was officially named as viceroy to reinforce her authority and charged with maintaining Aragonese rule.⁷²

Ruling the island proved to be a nearly impossible task due to the heavily constrained finances of the crown and a virulent uprising, led by the formidable Bernardo de Cabrera.⁷³ While a detailed discussion of Blanca's rule as viceroy is outside of the scope of this survey of the Navarrese queens, it is important to note that her governance of the island has been debated and analyzed by a host of Iberian and Italian scholars.⁷⁴ Some scholars, including Pietro Corrao, have argued that Blanca herself contributed to the instability of the realm and have criticized her administration.⁷⁵ However, Blanca also had her defenders; Fodale noted how Blanca was even held up as a heroine in the *Risorgimento* for her dogged defense of the island and her association with the nationalistic or *siciliane* faction during Cabrera's rebellion.⁷⁶

The importance of this episode of Blanca's life in the context of her later reign as the sovereign of Navarre is the key experience that it gave her of administration, governance, and rule in particularly challenging circumstances. Her predecessors, Juana I and Juana II, had come to the throne at relatively young ages with no knowledge of rule and certainly no experience to speak of. Blanca had already served

as queen consort ruling alongside her husband, as queen-lieutenant governing in her husband's stead, and finally as viceroy, ruling alone on behalf of a distant Aragonese king. Blanca's demonstrated political ability and knowledge was one of the factors that smoothed her path to the crown and helped her govern Navarre ably through both times of peace and conflict.

The Primogenita

Blanca's position altered significantly again in 1412 and 1413. Blanca's former father-in-law, Martín I *el Humano* died in 1410 and the Aragonese succession problems reached crisis point. The situation was resolved by the Compromise of Caspe in 1412, when Blanca's cousin Ferdinand de Antequera was invited to take the Aragonese crown. The advent of a new dynasty severed her remaining marital link to her position in Sicily, and it was unclear what the new king would decide to do with regard to her position as viceroy. Blanca's parents had been deeply concerned about their daughter's arduous and dangerous situation in Sicily and had sent embassies to the Aragonese court and to the pope in order to secure either Blanca's return or the support she needed to counter the rebellion.⁷⁷

In 1413, the need for Blanca's return to Navarre grew acute as her elder sister and current Navarrese heiress Juana died without issue. As Maria had also passed away in 1406, Blanca was the next in line to the throne and was heiress presumptive, thus she could not continue to serve as Viceroy of Sicily.⁷⁸ The diplomatic pressure from Navarre to release Blanca from her duties in Sicily intensified, with a series of emissaries sent to the Aragonese court; however it was unclear when she could leave or who might replace her. The Sicilians had asked for the second son of the new Aragonese king, the Infante Juan, to assume the title of King of Sicily. Juan refused the royal title and was ultimately appointed as Viceroy of Sicily, Sardinia, and Majorca.⁷⁹ Juan's arrival in late 1414 allowed Blanca to return to the mainland, where she was met by a delegation of prominent Navarrese nobles to conduct her home to Navarre.⁸⁰ A series of festivities heralded the *primogenita's* arrival in Navarre in early 1415, to the great relief of the king, the populace, and very likely Blanca herself.⁸¹

Blanca's position as heir apparent was officially confirmed in a formal ceremony in front of the assembled Cortes on October 28, 1416, at Olite.⁸² Securing her return from Sicily had finally been achieved but Blanca was still widowed and childless, which put the future

succession at risk. This triggered a new round of intensive matrimonial diplomacy for Carlos III, which demonstrates his evolving foreign policy.

It appears that Carlos attempted to find a new husband for Blanca almost immediately after she was widowed, using contacts made while he was at the French court from 1408 to 1411. A betrothal was contracted with great ceremony at the Louvre in Paris in November 1409 to Ludwig of Bavaria, brother-in-law of the King of France.⁸³ Unfortunately, this prestigious engagement appears to have been broken by 1410. A second betrothal, this time to Edouard, heir of the Duc de Bar, was made in 1410 but this proposed match failed to come to fruition, possibly due to Blanca's continuing duties in Sicily.⁸⁴ Carlos appears to have reconsidered his earlier attempts to marry Blanca further afield, after Juana's death made Blanca the heir to the throne, he began to look for an alliance with his neighbors.

There was also a strong proposal from Carlos's widowed son-in-law, the Count of Foix, for Blanca's hand. This option would preserve harmonious relations between Foix and Navarre and potentially resolve another minor dispute over the restoration of jewelry, which had formed part of Juana's dowry after her death.⁸⁵ The list of jewelry entailed in the dispute is incredibly detailed and comprises over 50 pieces including a rosary of pearls, emeralds, and sapphires weighing 26 ounces. However, Carlos and Jean of Foix signed the Treaty of Olite in 1414, which reaffirmed their alliance even though they were no longer bound by marital ties, rendering the need to use Blanca's marriage to placate Foix unnecessary.⁸⁶ The idea of merging Foix and Navarre appears to have lost its appeal for Carlos, although Jean of Foix was still interested in becoming king consort of Navarre.

An alliance with Aragon became Carlos's preferred option. Blanca's first husband, Martín the Younger, had not only been the King of Sicily but heir to the throne of Aragon as well. When Carlos arranged Blanca's first marriages he would have expected her to eventually become the Queen of Aragon and Sicily while Juana would have been Countess of Foix, securing his borders on two sides. With the death of Juana and Blanca's first husband, Carlos was forced to choose which alliance he valued most, and Aragon as the more powerful neighbor took precedence.

In the summer of 1414, Carlos made a tentative proposal to marry Blanca to Alfonso, the heir of the new King of Aragon, Ferdinand de Antequera. This would have resulted in the merger of Navarre with

Aragon, repeating the union of the two realms during a large part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, Alfonso was already contracted to marry Maria of Castile; a younger son, Enrique, was offered but Carlos refused the substitute.⁸⁷

Carlos may have rejected Enrique due to an affront to another of Carlos's daughters, Blanca's younger sister, Isabel. Isabel had been betrothed to the Infante Juan, second son of Ferdinand of Antequera, and their wedding was set for September 1414. However, with only a month to go until the wedding took place, the betrothal was abruptly broken off so that Juan could pursue the possibility of marrying Giovanna II of Naples. Although a proxy marriage between Juan and Giovanna was celebrated on January 4, 1415, in Valencia, this match failed to materialize either because the bride had a change of heart or, perhaps more accurately, foreign policy.⁸⁸ In an ironic twist, Giovanna used Juan's previous betrothal to Isabel to nullify their proxy wedding and married Jacques de Bourbon, the widower of Blanca and Isabel's sister Beatrix instead.⁸⁹

This situation clearly demonstrates the desirability of a queen regnant as a marital partner. As a younger son, marriage to a queen regnant was a key opportunity to become a ruler, if only as a king consort. Although Juan did eventually succeed to the throne of Aragon because his brother died childless, at the time of his marriage, this looked to be unlikely, and marriage to a ruling queen was a more certain way to gain a throne. It is hardly surprising that he was willing to break his engagement to Isabel of Navarre, even if it meant a diplomatic rupture between Aragon and their Iberian neighbors. The Aragonese would have been willing to sacrifice good relations with Navarre in order to obtain the Neapolitan crown for their son and draw Naples into their orbit.

The rift caused by the rejected betrothal and aborted marriage appears to have lingered for several years, stalling plans for the *primogenita's* marriage. Proof of Carlos's indecision regarding Blanca's marriage is a papal bull from later 1418 that allowed Blanca to marry any relative within the second to fourth degrees of consanguinity.⁹⁰ However, plans were moving forward for a new marriage for the jilted bride Isabel with the Count of Armagnac, another powerful *Midi* nobleman who was a long-standing rival of Carlos's former son-in-law, Jean of Foix.⁹¹ Carlos had previously supported Foix in their battles with Armagnac, and Isabel's marriage served as a key way to mend relations with the count who was a powerful figure in the *Midi*.⁹² This marriage may also have signaled a change in his stance

in the Orleans-Armagnac-Burgundy dispute, which was at the center of French politics. His daughter Beatriz was married to Jacques de Bourbon, who was a supporter of the Dukes of Burgundy from 1406 until her death in 1412. However, the decision to shift support to the Armagnac party who supported the Dauphin at this crucial moment shortly after the Burgundian alliance with England and their seizure of Paris could indicate that Carlos was also withdrawing his allegiance to the English cause. This may possibly be connected to his sister Juana's reduced position in England; in 1419 she was the dowager queen and was imprisoned at Pevensey Castle on a charge of witchcraft.⁹³ All of these marriages clearly demonstrate Carlos's skillful use of matrimonial diplomacy as a way of forging key alliances and signaling his allegiances in a highly charged political climate.

In spite of the earlier complications, the Aragonese were still keen to pursue a possible marriage alliance with Navarre to prevent Blanca from marrying either Jean of Foix or Pedro, the son of the Portuguese king. Leonor de Albuquerque, Queen of Aragon and a powerful Castilian heiress in her own right, pushed for a marriage between Blanca and her second son, Juan.⁹⁴ Intensive negotiations for the marriage took place over several months and were finally concluded in November 1419.⁹⁵ During the negotiation process, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, the groom's chief negotiator, requested formal confirmation that Blanca was Carlos III's heir.⁹⁶ This request for confirmation of the heiress' position had precedent reaching back to the twelfth century, when Fulk of Anjou requested assurance during the negotiations for his marriage to Melisende of Jerusalem that she was officially recognized as her father's heir.⁹⁷ In response to this request, Melisende of Jerusalem began to be referred to as "the king's daughter and the heir to Jerusalem" in the charters of the kingdom.⁹⁸

The lack of resolution over the dowry appears to have carried over into the negotiations for Blanca's second Aragonese marriage. Although this was negotiated with a new dynasty and a new king, Ferdinand de Antequera, it appears that there was a desire to resolve the dispute and ensure that any money from her original dowry, which was due to Blanca, was repaid in order to ensure that it did not jeopardize the new marital negotiations.⁹⁹ Once again, Carlos was hard-pressed to fund two expensive weddings and dowries within a short span of time; he requested that outstanding payments be made to him in 1419 as he needed the money for his daughters' impending weddings.¹⁰⁰

Another vital facet of the preparation for the wedding was the drafting of the marital agreements or *capitulaciones* for Blanca I and Juan of Aragon, which were signed in November 1419.¹⁰¹ In many ways this agreement was similar to the provisions for the succession made at the accession of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux in 1329, with a focus on protecting the rights of the queen regnant while permitting the consort to be involved in the governance of the realm. Limitations were placed on the role and powers of the king consort; it was specifically noted that Juan must not countermand his wife, the queen, and he was prohibited from giving away castles, fortresses, or territories to foreigners or permitting the annexation of the realm. These were vital stipulations in order to preserve the prerogatives of the queen and the sovereignty of the kingdom. The agreement repeatedly emphasized that it was Blanca, not Juan, who had the right to inherit the throne; his position as king consort and an *extranjero* or foreigner was clearly noted. As requested during the negotiations for the marriage, Blanca's position as "*heredera universal*" was reaffirmed, and Carlos III promised not to remarry to sire any other heirs who might usurp her position.¹⁰² The future succession of the realm was also discussed, their children would inherit both the crown of Navarre and Juan's Castilian territories, and the possibility that the couple might die without heirs was also explored.

However, this agreement was less specific about the role of the king consort after the queen's death. If Blanca died without heirs, it was specifically noted that Juan, as a foreigner, would not be eligible to succeed her. The role of the consort in the eventuality of Blanca's death with heirs was left considerably more vague than the 1329 agreement for Juana II and Philip d'Evreux as it was not made explicitly clear exactly when the widowed king consort would be forced to leave the governance of the kingdom to the heir.¹⁰³ This lack of clarity over the position of the widowed consort led to disastrous consequences, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

By marrying Blanca I to a younger son, the intention may have been, as in the later example of George of Denmark, that a younger son could be more focused on the needs of his wife's realm. However, unlike George of Denmark, Juan was heavily distracted by the Castilian territories bequeathed to him by his mother and later by acting as lieutenant for his brother, the King of Aragon. Juan was keen to preserve the substantial Castilian territories that his mother had bequeathed to him including the dukedoms of Peñafiel and

Montblanch as well as the *Condes* of Haro and Briones, which were situated close to the frontier with Navarre.¹⁰⁴ Juan interfered continually in Castilian politics and ultimately drew Navarre into a costly war with Castile. Although Juan was a younger son, his position as an important Castilian noble and as the heir of Aragon meant that he was often occupied outside of Navarre and that his own political goals were not always in line with Navarrese interests.

After their wedding in 1420, Blanca accompanied her new husband to Castile and took up residence in Juan's castle at Peñafiel, along with several members of the Navarrese court, including Blanca's illegitimate half-sister Juana and her minstrel Ursúa.¹⁰⁵ Once again, Blanca had returned to Castile, her mother's homeland and her own childhood home. There seems a slight incongruity regarding the heiress of Navarre and one of the Infantes of Aragon making their first marital home in Castile. However, given that both bride and groom were Trastámaras, the decision to live in their ancestral homeland and occupy Juan's important Castilian territories is less surprising. This situation highlights the rise of the Trastámara dynasty from its Castilian beginnings to hegemony in the peninsula, with Trastámara cousins on the thrones of all of the Iberian kingdoms.

The couple's first child, Carlos, was born at Peñafiel on May 29, 1421. The birth of a son for the *primogenita* was a momentous occasion that promised dynastic continuity, and Carlos III created the Principality of Viana for his new grandson as a means of celebrating his birth.¹⁰⁶ This was in keeping with other customary titles and territories that were specifically reserved for the heir to the throne in other European kingdoms, including the titles of Prince of Wales (created 1283), Dauphin (1346), Duke of Gerona (for the throne of Aragon, created 1350), and the Prince of Asturias (1388). Juan Carrasco Perez believes that the selection of Viana, located on the Castilian border was a purposeful choice, intended to "reaffirm and consolidate the border with Castile," particularly given the instability in relations with Castile that had been created by Juan's provocative actions.¹⁰⁷ The fact that he chose not to bestow the title on Blanca, his primary heir, is not particularly significant. Her position as heiress was already assured, but the birth of a grandson, ensuring the continuation of the dynasty after so much tragedy and disappointment, was worthy of commemorating with such a lavish gesture. If the gesture was also a way of protecting the realm's frontiers and demonstrating that it was on par with its larger and more powerful neighbors, so much the better.

As soon as the prince reached a reasonable age to travel, Blanca brought him back to Navarre to be raised in the country that he was one day expected to rule, in accordance with the stipulations of her marriage contract.¹⁰⁸ In June 1422 at Olite, Blanca's son was formally accorded his place in the line of succession, after his mother who was still acknowledged as "our most dear and most loved eldest daughter and heir."¹⁰⁹ Just as in the case of the previous queens regnant, Juana I and II, both of whom were mothers of sons, there was no suggestion that Blanca step aside in favor of her son's claim. In keeping with tradition and custom, the child was acknowledged as an heir to the throne, *tutores* were named for him, and he formally swore to uphold the *Fueros* once he was king.¹¹⁰

Blanca's second child, Juana, was born a few months after her son had been formally named as her heir.¹¹¹ Although she was third in line to the throne, Carlos III initiated proceedings for another formal ceremony to recognize the new princess' place in the succession. The surviving documents clearly demonstrate the importance of this ceremony as all of the major towns in the realm sent representatives.¹¹² Sadly, the young princess died only two years after the ceremony in late 1425.¹¹³ However, Blanca and Juan had two more daughters, Blanca, born in 1424, and Leonor, born in early 1426, who would provide dynastic continuity and ultimately play a significant role in the Navarrese succession.

During the early years of her marriage, while she was still heiress apparent Blanca divided her time between Navarre and her husband's territories in Castile.¹¹⁴ Blanca was an active heir apparent, and her influence can be seen in evidence from the final years of her father's rule. A document from Estella, in early 1424, shows Blanca's piety and involvement in governance as Carlos III granted special privileges to the Monastery of Santa Clara in response to her entreaty, "For . . . our most beloved and loved first born (heiress) daughter, the queen, lady Blanca, who has begged us to grant this request."¹¹⁵ Blanca also convinced her father to grant the city of Tafalla the status of a *buena villa*.¹¹⁶ Blanca's involved role as heir apparent, coupled with her considerable experience of governance from her years in Sicily, was excellent preparation for the day when the crown would fall to her.

Blanca as Queen: Partnership, Piety, and Patronage

Blanca's father, Carlos III, died unexpectedly on September 8, 1425. According to Moret, the king woke healthy and happy, but collapsed

suddenly. He was only able to call for his daughter but by the time she arrived, he was incapable of speech and died in her arms.¹¹⁷ Blanca was immediately proclaimed queen in the palace of Olite and she dispatched the royal banner and surcoat to her husband, who was away on campaign with his brother, Alfonso of Aragon, to use as the new king consort.¹¹⁸ However, Alfonso used these symbolic pieces to proclaim Juan as King of Navarre in an improvised ceremony in the Aragonese camp.¹¹⁹ This event, which Narbaitz terms “an indecent act,” was offensive to the Navarrese, both because it had ignored the rightful place of their queen regnant and because the ceremony did not take place in the cathedral in Pamplona, but in an Aragonese military camp on foreign soil.¹²⁰ Moret notes this event as a portent of Juan’s destructive reign as king consort:

There were no Navarrese knights at this event, because the Navarrese nobility were at Olite with the Queen, Lady Blanca, their natural sovereign, at that time. These were separate acclamations and the king’s was truly a foreign exercise, outside of Navarre, which could be the start of the divisions, wars and internal conflict which was to come between the king and his son born from the same marriage.¹²¹

Moreover, the continuing turmoil that her husband had caused in Castile prevented the coronation of the couple for four years as Juan was unable or perhaps unwilling to disengage from the Castillian political arena to return to Navarre. Ramírez Vaquero suggests that the eventual coronation was in some way an elaborate face-saving exercise for the beleaguered Juan. His wife summoned him back to Navarre in order to hold the coronation at a time when he was experiencing a series of setbacks in Castile. This gave him a reason to leave Castile gracefully and with honor, before he was forced out.¹²² In addition, there is evidence that the couple deliberately excused several important cities from their share of the customary expenses for the coronation, which may have been a way of placating a populace who were unimpressed by Juan’s failures in Castile and his impromptu Aragonese ceremony.¹²³ The delayed coronation took place in May 1429 and included the Navarrese tradition of raising the sovereign on a shield while the crowd cried “*Real, real, real!*” The written acclamation of the Cortes shows the interesting balance between acknowledging Juan as king while emphasizing that Blanca was the true claimant:

To you our lord Juan, by the grace of God King of Navarre, by the right which pertains to you through the cause of the Queen, Lady Blanca,

your wife and our sovereign, queen regnant of this said Kingdom of Navarre and to you, the said Lady Blanca, our queen and rightful sovereign, that we will guard and defend well and loyally your persons and your land and help you to guard, defend and maintain the Fueros for your rule to all our loyal power.¹²⁴

Despite the delay to her coronation, Blanca's path to the Navarrese crown was considerably smoother than those of both her female predecessors. Her right to the throne was unchallenged, and she was able to quickly take up the reins of government and exercise it in her own right as a fully grown adult. Unfortunately for her successors, the ease of Blanca's accession proved to be entirely situational, rather than evidence of a trend toward progressively easier routes for female claimants to the Navarrese throne.

Carlos III had bequeathed his daughter and heiress a stable, prosperous kingdom. Blanca was not only her father's formally designated and publicly acknowledged heir but also a grown woman who could provide proven governmental experience and dynastic continuity. There was ample precedent from the two previous reigning queens, Juana I and II, and virtually no pretexts that an alternative claimant could use to contest her succession.

Rather than simply providing a chronological overview of Blanca's 16-year reign, this next section will focus on evidence that illuminates Blanca and Juan's political partnership. Although Juan undoubtedly benefited from his promotion from Infante of Aragon to king consort of Navarre, it did not distract him from his projects in Castile. Joseph O'Callaghan aptly summed up Juan's attitude to his new crown, "While pleased to have the royal title, Juan was little interested in Navarre and was content to leave its administration to the queen."¹²⁵ It is worth noting that Juan spent very little of his lengthy time as King of Navarre on the day-to-day management of the realm, leaving that task to his wife and later to a series of lieutenants, including his second wife and two of his children.¹²⁶ With regard to his relationship with Blanca, this was entirely appropriate given the fact that his wife was the rightful heir to the throne, older and more experienced in the governance and administration of a realm.¹²⁷ Moreover, his extensive commitments in Castile and Juan's duties as one of his brother's designated lieutenants in Aragon would have kept him occupied outside of Navarre.¹²⁸ In the mid-1430s, Juan also traveled to Italy to support his brother's Italian enterprise and was briefly held as a prisoner of war after the battle of Ponza in August 1435.¹²⁹

However, the joint address clause and seal of Blanca I and Juan of Aragon give the impression of a more equitable distribution of power in their partnership. As in the case of previous royal couples, Juan's titles come first in their address clause, which begins with "Juan, by the Grace of God King of Navarre" and includes the full list of his impressive maternal inheritance. However, even though she comes second, Blanca's superior position is clearly demonstrated in the wording of the clause. Íñigo Arzoz Mendizábal notes that "the royal chancery makes a clear distinction between Juan II and Blanca in the address clause, that she is superior, the hereditary queen regnant, while her husband is only the king consort of Navarre."¹³⁰ This can be seen in the following example:

Lord Juan, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Prince of Aragon and Sicily, Duke of Nemours, of Montblanc, of Peñafiel, Count of Ribagorza and Lord of the city of Ballaguer and Lady Blanca, by the same grace queen and rightful heiress of said kingdom, duchess of the aforesaid duchies, countess of the aforesaid counties and lady of the said city of Ballaguer.¹³¹

However, an analysis of the cartulary issued by the royal couple demonstrates Blanca's more active role. Although Juan's titles preceded hers in the address clause, the signature was often Blanca's alone or indicated that she was signing on behalf of both partners: "Blanca. For the king and queen."¹³² Although this signature indicates that she was signing on behalf of herself and Juan, Ramírez Vaquero stresses that it was the queen's signature and assent which were vital as the "*señora natural*."¹³³ A survey of the cartulary of the couple's reign demonstrates that the overwhelming majority were signed in the queen's name only, followed by charters that were jointly signed, and the smallest proportion were those charters signed only by Juan.¹³⁴

In addition, many royal documents were issued solely by the queen. Some of these documents began with a joint clause, but were clearly issued by Blanca, while many of the documents issued had an individual clause from the queen alone.¹³⁵ Less formal documents would begin simply with "The Queen" as a heading.¹³⁶

Blanca and Juan broke with earlier traditions and created a large double seal that contained the image of both spouses.¹³⁷ The central image of the seal is that of a shield bearing their crowned joint arms, flanked by images of the king and queen on each side.¹³⁸ The size is truly notable, at almost 10 cm in diameter, and it was impressed in

dark brown wax. The king and queen are both pictured enthroned and crowned; the king holds a scepter while the queen appears to be holding an orb. There is a gothic surround that bears some resemblance to that of the two previous queens. However, the surround in this seal is embellished with angels, and there appears to be two birds on either side of the shield's crown.

There are two possible rationales for this radical departure from tradition. One possibility is that using a double seal was a matter of convenience; Blanca could carry on the work of administration with one seal, rather than sending documents to her husband, who was often away in Castile or Aragon, for his own seal.¹³⁹ A second possibility, which does not necessarily exclude the previous suggestion, is that the seal was a matter of assuaging Juan's ego. Blanca may have been happy to share a seal with her husband and place his name first in the address clause in order to present the image of Juan actively ruling the realm, to make him feel more like a true king and less like a consort, whatever the reality may actually have been. Even if Juan was not greatly interested in the administration of the realm, there is evidence that he used his standing as King of Navarre to his political advantage, for example, using his status as a fellow monarch while in Castile to keep similar state to the Castilian queen and heir and appear as their equal.¹⁴⁰

Another example of their joint imagery, which also appears to have been equally balanced by both partners, can be found on the sarcophagus of their daughter Juana, who died as a young girl in 1425.¹⁴¹ The sarcophagus itself is unadorned and rests on two recumbent lions. However, there are six shields attached to the sarcophagus; on either side there is one of Juan's shields and one of Blanca's. One end bears Blanca's shield and the other Juan's. Thus the iconography is perfectly equal and balanced between both parents.

However, Juan was not included in all of the royal imagery from the couple's reign. One striking example of the queen's own symbolic devise can be found on the ceiling of the cathedral in Pamplona. The center of this vividly colored and intricately detailed polychromatic devise contains the single letter "b" surmounted by a golden crown. This symbol is particularly significant in a number of ways. First, the cathedral itself was "the stage of the monarchy": the location where sovereigns were customarily crowned and buried.¹⁴² Second, Blanca's parents had overseen a program of restoration and improvements to the cathedral, which Blanca continued during her reign.¹⁴³ The placement of such a large distinctive symbol in this particular public

space was a strong statement of her personal sovereignty, patronage, and piety.

Blanca's life and the manner of her death all reflect her piety, and particularly her dedication to the Virgin, which was very much in line with the general fervor for Marian devotion in the fifteenth century. Blanca I was noted as being particularly religious, described in one contemporary source as "the very noble and devoted Christian Lady Queen Blanca of Navarre," and her expenditure shows several different strands of religious expenses.¹⁴⁴ Like her predecessors, Blanca was involved in works in the Cathedral of Pamplona and founded a chapel with her husband Juan in the Convent of Santa Maria del Carmen in their capital city.¹⁴⁵ She also paid for masses to be said for her parents as well as distant ancestors and paid for the establishment of religious offices.¹⁴⁶ In addition, Blanca went on several pilgrimages to sites both within and beyond Navarre and met her death while on pilgrimage at Santa Maria de Nieva in Castile in 1441.¹⁴⁷

An episode in 1433 illustrates Blanca's demonstrative piety, Marian devotion, and sadly, her struggle with poor health. The queen undertook a pilgrimage to Santa María del Pilar in Zaragoza, one of the most important sites of Marian devotion in Iberia, to thank the Virgin for her return to health after a prolonged and severe bout of infirmity. The queen departed on July 13, 1433, from Tudela with a substantial entourage of male and female courtiers and her children. The trip was a costly affair; documentary evidence shows the substantial expenditure of 2,703 libros, 13 sueldos, and 3 dineros.¹⁴⁸ The expenditure was related to both the housing and maintenance of her entourage and donations to the church, including candles and other donatives. The queen timed her trip carefully to take part in one of the most important events connected to the Virgin, the Assumption on August 15. Contemporary records from Santa María del Pilar note the queen's attendance at the both the Vigil and on the Holy Day itself, when she attended multiple masses, including Vespers and a ceremony of invocation.¹⁴⁹ The day after the Assumption, on August 16, Blanca created a new chivalric order, the Order of Pilar, which promoted both welfare and devotion for its members. Her son and heir, Carlos, played a key role in the newly established order, which had an emblem of an enamelled white pillar with a band of blue for the Virgin across the background and a motto of *A ti me arrimo* ("to you I give thanks").¹⁵⁰

Blanca also used her authority as queen to protect and assist pilgrims traveling through Navarre on their way to Santiago de Compostela.

For example, Blanca paid 50 florins to help a Frenchwoman on her way and also paid a Flemish group 6 florins in compensation for their robbery and imprisonment by a Navarrese noble, the Señor de Luxa.¹⁵¹ A recently restored statue of the queen with her hands folded in prayer at Santa Maria de Olite further emphasizes her religious image. The queen's intensely pious reputation may have been a source of strength for her; Janna Bianchini has argued that reigning queens needed to craft an image of piety in order to ensure the crucial support of the church for female rule.¹⁵²

The survival of documentary evidence from Blanca's reign is very strong, especially with regard to her household records and in the context of patronage. This has enabled academic study of Blanca's household, an area that has not been specifically examined during the reigns of the other queens regnant in Navarre. The maintenance of the queen's household is certainly an important aspect of rulership. However, both queens regnant and consort maintained their own households, which may make it difficult to ascertain whether Blanca's household particularly reflects her position as sovereign.

Maria Raquel García Arancón conducted a study of Blanca's household that focused specifically on the number and makeup of the female attendants.¹⁵³ She notes that Blanca's household contained more female attendants than that of her immediate predecessors, the queens consort Jeanne de France (wife of Carlos II) and her mother Leonor de Trastámara.¹⁵⁴ The increased number of female attendants may be a reflection of Blanca's unique status as queen regnant, which would entail greater state to be kept than the queens consort, while increasing the number of female attendants over male ones may have been preferable for the queen.

Fernando Serrano Larráyoiz has examined several different facets of Blanca's household in great detail, including her employment of astrologers, although his primary focus has been the culinary aspects of her household, such as provisions and entertaining.¹⁵⁵ His analysis of the dishes prepared and supplies obtained have led him to suggest a wide range of influences, including French cuisine and tastes that the queen may have acquired during her time in Sicily and her travels in Castile and Aragon. Serrano Larráyoiz also notes that the character of the court during Blanca's reign was "more sober" than during her father's reign, and that the "splendor and magnificence" of the court declined by degrees after the death of Carlos III.¹⁵⁶ Serrano Larráyoiz suggests two possible reasons for this change. The first line of reasoning he suggests may be due to the personal

character of the queen, who was known to be very religious and possibly more concerned with pilgrimage than courtly splendor. The second suggestion Serrano Larráyoiz makes is that the continuing wars of Juan of Aragon and the resulting impact on royal finances may have forced the queen to make cutbacks in spending on feasting and entertainments.

However, even though she may have reduced her expenditure in comparison to her father, Carlos III, there are still ample records that testify to her employment of musicians and entertainers at her court. There are receipts for the payment of entertainers such as “Bonafox,” “Hannaquin de Malines,” and “Petit Juan,” including funds for them to travel to her daughter’s court at Foix.¹⁵⁷ Blanca also hosted entertainers from beyond the Pyrenees; one receipt shows a payment of 20 libros and 15 sueldos for shoes and a costume for two singers from the court of Philip of Burgundy.¹⁵⁸ One entertainer, Arnaldo de Ursúa, was even given an exemption from tribute in 1432, with the usual exception of royal weddings, although this appears to have been revoked six years later.¹⁵⁹

Blanca is also the queen with the strongest record of artistic patronage of all of the Navarrese reigning queens. In particular, Blanca’s records show an ongoing relationship with the painter Gabriel de Bosch, from whom she commissioned a variety of works.¹⁶⁰ Some of these works were for her children, including the commissioning of toys and a dragon to be painted for her son.¹⁶¹ However, there is also evidence of the commission of religious tableaux including paintings for a chapel in 1434.¹⁶² Gabriel’s last work for the queen was a series of paintings commissioned by her son for the queen’s obsequies.¹⁶³

In addition to painters, Blanca kept at least one *tapicero* or tapestry expert on her staff. There are records of salaries and expenses paid out to Roberto, who is noted as a “*tapicero real*” and to Lucían Bartolomé.¹⁶⁴ Works carried out by these men included improvements to the palace of Olite and tapestries for the rooms of the queen and her children at the palace of Tudela.¹⁶⁵ Although Roberto appears to have grumbled about the late payment of his salary, Lucían was later rewarded with an exception from tribute for his services.¹⁶⁶

There is also some evidence that Blanca was involved in literary patronage. Two receipts from 1435 show the payment of 10 libros and 100 sueldos for Jimeno de Ucar to “write a book” for the queen.¹⁶⁷ While Blanca’s record in this regard is not as impressive as her predecessors Juana I and II, it still demonstrates that Blanca’s patronage was both diverse and wide-ranging.

Politics: Making Peace and Crafting Alliances

Like her father, Blanca I used the marriages of her children to build a balanced web of alliances. Blanca's youngest child, Leonor, was ironically was the first child to be contracted in marriage to Gaston, son and heir of Blanca's former brother-in-law and suitor Jean I of Foix. This marriage demonstrates a continuation of her father's policy to keep the Counts of Foix closely bound as key allies. Queen Blanca entertained a group of ambassadors from Foix before sending her own team of negotiators to Foix with full powers to contract a marriage for Leonor on September 5, 1434.¹⁶⁸ The negotiations proceeded smoothly and a marital contract for the young princess was signed at Bagnères-de-Bigorre on September 22, 1434.¹⁶⁹

Blanca's eldest child was her only son and heir, Carlos, the Principe de Viana. As the future King of Navarre, his marriage was highly significant although it did not have the same import as the marriage of a potential queen regnant, as there was no assumption or expectation that Carlos's consort would have a great deal of direct involvement in the rule of the realm. However, it was an excellent opportunity to contract a beneficial political alliance. This time they looked beyond their immediate neighbors, to a marriage with Agnes of Cleves, niece of the powerful Duke of Burgundy, in September 1439.¹⁷⁰ Ramírez Vaquero claims that this alliance suited Aragon's *antifrancesa* or anti-French political stance, reflecting the traditional schemes of alliance between Castile and France in opposition to Aragon, England, and Burgundy.¹⁷¹ This also demonstrates a departure from her father's anti-Burgundian policy and a change to the marriages of the early members of the House of Evreux, such as the children of Juana II, whose marriages furthered French foreign policy as much as Navarrese interests. The match with Cleves was an advantageous marriage for Navarre, bringing not only Agnes's sizable dowry but also the pledge that Agnes and Carlos would succeed to the Duchy of Burgundy if Philip died without heirs.¹⁷² Carlos was also considered to be in line for the throne of Aragon, due to his uncle Alfonso's childless marriage, making him an even more desirable match for the Duke of Burgundy's niece. Unfortunately, Agnes did not become Duchess of Burgundy, Queen of Aragon, or even the Queen of Navarre. The political events that followed the death of Blanca I meant that the Burgundian bride had to be content with merely being the Princess de Viana.

The marriage of Blanca's remaining daughter and namesake was tied to one of the most significant events during the couple's reign: a

prolonged conflict with Castile. Blanca and Juan's actions during this crisis demonstrate how they worked to support one another and also how they worked separately in order to further their own political goals, even when this meant working counter to their spouse's interests. Blanca and Juan appear to have developed a mode of power sharing that could be described as "Divide and Conquer." This mode of power sharing responds to the challenge of governing their diverse territories by assigning each partner to the administration of a different territorial area. This mode, by definition, demands a fair amount of equality in the partnership as both partners need to be able to exercise authority independently in their respective areas. This mode is best demonstrated by the reigns of Blanca and Juan and their daughter Leonor's relationship with her husband, Gaston of Foix. However, a key difference between these two examples is that while Leonor and Gaston had a cohesive political agenda and ambitions, Blanca and Juan's were at odds with one another.

Juan was keen to preserve the substantial Castilian territories that his mother had bequeathed to him.¹⁷³ These important holdings and the Trastámara blood made Juan a key Castilian noble as well as an Aragonese prince and a Navarrese king consort. However, his meddling in Castilian affairs ultimately drew Navarre into conflict with Castile. The tensions began shortly after the couple's wedding in 1420 and developed over the course of the decade into a full-scale war between the two realms.

By 1429 the situation in Castile was very difficult for Juan; he was stripped of his Castilian territories and forced to retreat to Navarre. Blanca responded to this turn of events by sending a flurry of orders for men and requests for money to be spent on the defense of the realm, particularly in vulnerable border areas.¹⁷⁴ However, Castilian forces managed to take and hold Navarrese territory along their mutual frontier including the castle of Buradón and the town of Corella.¹⁷⁵ Blanca continued to support the troops defending the frontier, including one mandate for 500 libras paid for four men-at-arms, 150 *ballasteros* (crossbowmen), and 150 foreign *lanceros* (pikemen) to protect the frontier with Castile.¹⁷⁶

In a related issue, monetary policy is one area where the detrimental effect of Juan's actions can be plainly seen. During his reign, both alongside his wife and later on his own, the currency of the realm was profoundly affected by the need to fund Juan's war with Castile. Carrasco Perez remarks that initially there was an intent to "inject more fluidity and equilibrium into the (monetary) system," but the

necessity to increase coinage in order to pay for the means to wage war and cope with other budgetary losses from the reduction of rents from territories depleted by conflict or taken by Castile, had a profoundly negative effect on the economy as well as the on the value of the coinage itself.¹⁷⁷

Although she defended her realm vigorously, Blanca never ceased to work for an end to the hostilities and the return of her lost territory, placing the needs of her realm before the desires of her husband. Blanca attempted to mitigate the damage of these territorial and financial losses by sending peace envoys, including her personal secretary, Simon de Leoz, and her own confessor to the Castilian court.¹⁷⁸ She also sent an embassy to Juan's brother, King Alfonso of Aragon, to try to get his support for peace negotiations with Castile.¹⁷⁹ With the help of Alfonso and his wife, Maria of Castile, the Truce of Majano was crafted in 1430, establishing a five-year suspension of hostilities.¹⁸⁰

Toward the end of the five-year truce, Blanca's efforts to keep the peace with Castile and lay the groundwork for a more long-lasting treaty can be seen in the expenses for messengers to Castile, particularly in 1435 when six embassies were dispatched.¹⁸¹ The resulting Treaty of Toledo in 1436 allowed Navarre to finally recoup some of the territory that had been lost along the Castilian frontier and included a projected marriage between the Castilian heir to Blanca and Juan's eldest daughter.¹⁸² The bride's dowry was made up of Juan's confiscated lands in Castile, and although Juan was named the administrator of these lands until the marriage took place, the Castilians had the satisfaction of knowing that these significant territories would be eventually absorbed by the crown.¹⁸³ Furthermore, a clause in the marital contract stipulated that the territory would remain as crown property even if the princess died without heirs or the marriage was dissolved, and ultimately, this clause proved to be a shrewd prenuptial stipulation.¹⁸⁴ Although Juan would eventually be losing the Castilian territory that he had fought so hard to retain, his daughter "provided her father with a potential weapon for use against the Castilian monarchy" as the eventual Queen of Castile who could theoretically provide Juan with a grandson as a future Castilian monarch.¹⁸⁵

The wedding itself took place at Valladolid on September 15, 1440, after a series of lavish events to welcome the Navarrese bride, which one chronicler described as "the greatest, most original and strangest festivities that had been seen in Spain in our time."¹⁸⁶ Enrique Flórez's account emphasizes the wealth of the Castilian crown, repeatedly

noting that the bride and several prominent members of the wedding party were given “many exquisite gems.”¹⁸⁷ The Navarrese also contributed to the costs of the wedding, and the bride’s parents presented the couple with expensive gifts including a dinner set that cost 267 libros and 13 sueldos.¹⁸⁸

The wedding was extremely important as it would cement the terms of the treaty and theoretically guarantee peace through the union of the Castilian heir and his Navarrese bride. Although Blanca’s health was compromised, she left her son and heir to rule in her stead while she made the journey to her homeland of Castile in order to ensure that the ceremony took place. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero commented on Blanca’s continued peacemaking efforts right up to her untimely death:

Queen Blanca, who has always been considered to be a woman of extreme patience and persistence throughout the whole of her life, eternally mediating conflicts, always looking for the source of a possible pacification, with extremely delicate health, died ultimately without more than the intent to tranquilize the Castilian situation.¹⁸⁹

Blanca’s death brings together three of the key themes in her life. It took place while on a mission to forge a long-lasting peace with her neighbors, the crux of her strenuous efforts to end the destructive conflict created by her husband and protect her kingdom. She died while visiting a site of pilgrimage to the Virgin at Santa Maria de Nieva, once again illustrating her piety and focus on Marian devotion. Finally, it is important to note that she died in Castile, the country of her birth and the homeland of the Trastámara dynasty that had dominated her life.

Blanca was buried at Santa Maria de Nieva, despite her own avowed wish in her testament to be buried at another shrine dedicated to the Virgin in Navarre, Santa Maria de Ujué.¹⁹⁰ This site was also closely connected with her father and grandfather, which may have been another reason why she selected this Marian shrine for her resting place rather than the cathedral in Pamplona where her parents were buried in an elaborate tomb.¹⁹¹ However, it appears her remains were never translated back to Ujué or anywhere else in Navarre despite her daughter’s attempts to move her to Tafalla and recent requests from the Gobierno de Navarra to the administrators of Castile to have Blanca’s remains returned.¹⁹² Despite the lack of her body, an impressive funeral that fully acknowledged her role as the sovereign

of the realm was held for the queen at the Cathedral of Pamplona with a series of ceremonies, which lasted for nearly a month.¹⁹³

In summary, although Blanca and Juan were often referred to as the single entity "*los reyes*" ("the kings"), the couple appeared to have maintained somewhat separate lives with markedly different political goals and interests. Juan appears to have been largely content to let his wife exercise her rights as hereditary sovereign to administer Navarre, but his own political goals in Castile were directly opposed to Blanca's own objectives of maintaining the security and prosperity of her realm.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the couple's divergent political goals damaged their personal relationship. Unlike the situation with Blanca's parents, where there was a prolonged and antagonistic separation that caught the attention of contemporary chroniclers, there does not appear to have been a similar scenario for Blanca and Juan. The couple did spend a considerable amount of time apart during their marriage, but this may have been purely because Juan's ambition and duties as his brother's heir and lieutenant often kept him away from his wife, who had responsibilities in Navarre as its reigning sovereign.

It could be argued that Blanca should have attempted to rein in Juan's destructive ambitions in Castile for the sake of her own realm, but this would have brought her into personal conflict with her husband, which she may have been keen to avoid. Overall, it appears that although their goals and interests were not in line with one another, they were still able to maintain a functional personal and political partnership, with a fair degree of freedom for each partner.

Blanca's reign, though troubled by considerable political conflict, demonstrated the queen's effective personal rule. Her years as queen-lieutenant and viceroy in turbulent Sicily gave her the crucial experience that she needed to deal with the challenges of her reign. She worked tirelessly to defend her realm and used her familial connections to attempt to broker peace and build alliances with her neighbors. The documentary evidence from her reign highlights Blanca's active role as an able administrator, patron, and the center of a thriving court, while her pilgrimages and religious expenditure demonstrated her deep piety. In total, though Blanca's life was dominated by her Trastámara roots and family, she was an extremely capable sovereign whose reign clearly demonstrated effective and successful female rule in Navarre.

CHAPTER 5

LEONOR: CIVIL WAR AND SIBLING STRIFE

The death of Blanca I in 1441 was a major turning point in the history of Navarre. Blanca's son and heir, Carlos, the Principe de Viana, was twenty years of age when his mother died. It was a reasonable to expect that he would immediately succeed her as King Carlos IV. However, Blanca left a clause in her will that asked her son to refrain from taking the title of king in his father's lifetime without his express permission, which realistically Juan would be unlikely to give.¹ This clause gave Juan all the leverage he needed to remain as King of Navarre indefinitely and was the cause of over seventy years of conflict in the kingdom, which destabilized the realm and ultimately led to its annexation by Castile in 1512.

Although the couple's marital contract had been slightly nebulous with regard to Juan's position in the event that he was a widower with fully grown heirs, Carlos's position as Blanca's successor had been clear from the moment of his birth and had been formally documented and witnessed by the Cortes.² Moreover, there was a clear precedent from the reign of Juana I regarding the role of the king consort after the death of the female sovereign. On Juana I's death in 1305, her widower, Philip IV of France, ceased to use the title king consort of Navarre, and their son, Juana's heir, Louis, assumed the title King of Navarre.

As there was neither a precedent nor a clear justification for Juan's continued hold on the title, it has been difficult to understand the reasons for this extraordinary clause that created a departure from tradition and the legal framework of the realm with regard to succession. Rather than attributing Blanca's actions to either pressure from Juan or a desire to please him, Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero has argued that the controversial codicil was a "conscious and deliberate" strategic act on the part of the queen.³ She believes that the passage shows Blanca's acute awareness of the Iberian political

situation, that Juan needed the prestige and position that his royal title gave him in order maintain his position and achieve his political objectives in Castile. As his brother Alfonso's heir, Juan would eventually become King of Aragon, theoretically releasing the Navarrese title for Carlos, who would eventually inherit the crowns of both kingdoms. Blanca had carefully planned the marriages of her children to ensure that, in due course, the frontiers of her realm would be comfortably protected by her son as King of Navarre and Aragon, her daughter Blanca as Queen of Castile, and her youngest daughter Leonor as Countess of Foix. However, the ruthless machinations of her husband, a man who became known as *Juan Sin Fe* or "Juan the Faithless" prevented all but one of their children from reaching their projected destinies.⁴

The Succession Turned Upside Down

Initially, Carlos had to be content to govern Navarre as Juan's lieutenant and wait patiently for the title, which was his by hereditary right. However, as Linde Brocato notes, Carlos did attempt to counteract his father's usurpation of his rightful position by producing evidence that Blanca may have rescinded the codicil on her deathbed and returning to the marital agreements of his parents to support Juan's illegal retention of the title of King of Navarre; but his efforts to remove Juan were unsuccessful.⁵ The relationship between father and son deteriorated throughout the 1440s particularly after Juan's remarriage to Juana Enríquez, the daughter of an important Castilian noble. Juan had also rekindled the war with Castile using the Navarrese frontier as "the principal center of his premeditated offensive."⁶ Juan suffered a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Olmedo in 1445 but this did not deter him from pursuing his aims in Castile, whatever the cost to Navarre or his relationship with his son. By 1450, the hostility between Juan and Carlos erupted into full-scale civil war with the two rival groups of nobles: the Agramonts supporting the continued rule of Juan of Aragon and the Beaumonts defending Carlos as the rightful king of the realm. The year 1451 was disastrous for Carlos; after signing accords with Enrique IV of Castile he was named a traitor by Juan and taken prisoner by his father on October 23.⁷ Matters were made worse for the Principe when the lieutenancy of Navarre was given over to his stepmother, and shortly after she gave birth to his half-brother Ferdinand, who threatened Carlos's position in the Aragones succession.⁸

As Carlos turned to the kings of Castile, France, and Aragon for support against his father, war threatened to engulf the realm from without and within, fatally weakening the country, which would have devastating consequences in the years to come. The annalist Zurita saw a direct link between these events and the Annexation of 1512, "Here was the principal [cause] of the turbulence and war which were the reason for the loss of this kingdom."⁹

Carlos's failure to claim his mother's crown was not the only twist in the succession of Navarre, and indeed during the fifteenth century, several unexpected events occurred with regard to the succession of the Iberian kingdoms. In 1454, Enrique IV succeeded to the throne of Castile. This should have ensured that his wife Blanca, the Navarrese princess, became Queen of Castile as well. However, shortly before his accession, Enrique decided to divorce Blanca after thirteen years of marriage, which was reportedly unconsummated, insinuating that his wife had rendered him impotent.¹⁰ Even at the lavish wedding festivities there were signals that foreshadowed the marital difficulties to come. Zurita commented that "the wedding festivities were very unfortunate as it was made public that the princess remained a virgin, just as she had been (before)."¹¹ Townsend Miller emphasizes this event in his rather fanciful description of the wedding, claiming that Juan of Aragon spent most of the wedding night pacing fruitlessly outside the bedroom door: "After all that he had done—after all the scheming and maneuvering and waiting . . . nothing whatsoever happened in the bedroom."¹²

Enrique maintained that his impotence was limited to his relations with his wife. It is interesting to note the language used to describe Enrique's predicament; Zurita uses the terms "*hechizados y maleficiados*," which both have a link to witchcraft.¹³ Zurita does not accuse Princess Blanca of spell casting, however; this is vaguely attributed to the "work and industry of others." However, the divorce also cast aspersions on Enrique's virility, which would continue to plague him and contributed to an extended succession dispute between his sister Isabel and his acknowledged daughter Juana *la Beltraneja*.¹⁴ Daniel Eisenberg argues for a medical basis of Enrique's difficulties, but he rejects Gregorio Marañón's diagnosis of acromagalic eunuchodism and suggests instead that the king suffered from acromegaly or a problem in his pituitary gland, which Eisenberg feels would better account for Enrique's noted symptoms and his impotency.¹⁵ Eisenberg also suggests that the difficulty on the bride's side may have been purely psychological and may not have

been helped initially by pressure from her father and the stress of the wedding festivities.¹⁶

Blanca was forced to endure the indignities of the trial process, including a medical examination to confirm her continued virginity.¹⁷ The decision to initiate divorce proceedings on such grounds, which was highly embarrassing for both parties, is surprising considering that there were ample grounds for an annulment in the nonconsummation of the marriage as well as the fact that the couple were close cousins. However, José Luis Martín has argued that Enrique could not resort to an annulment on this basis as Blanca's prospective replacement, Juana of Portugal, was equally closely related.¹⁸ The trial panel conceded to the need to dissolve the marriage on June 2nd, but it was necessary to receive papal confirmation for such an unusual and politically sensitive divorce.¹⁹ Enrique's appeal to the pope was successful, and the marriage was ended on November 13, 1453.²⁰

Enrique claimed that his sole motivation in initiating divorce proceedings was "to become a father and sire children" who would secure the Castilian succession.²¹ In reality, given Juan of Aragon's repeated aggression toward Castile and interference in Castilian politics, it is hardly surprising that Enrique might choose to sever his human tie with Juan. Given that their once close relationship had degraded into hostility between the two men, it is possible that Enrique deliberately chose not to consummate his marriage with Blanca to make it easier to end their relationship, if the political need arose. Consequently, instead of maintaining a crucial alliance and protecting the frontiers of Navarre as Queen of Castile, Blanca was sent home in disgrace to join her brother in his struggle against their powerful father.

With his two eldest children ranged against him, Juan made a decision that circumvented the established practices of succession and inheritance yet further. In a move that Bisson termed "legally preposterous," Juan decided to disinherit his rebellious older children in favor of his youngest daughter, Leonor, now married to Gaston IV, the Count of Foix.²² Gaston and Leonor arrived in Barcelona in late 1455, and an agreement to promote Leonor ahead of her two older siblings in the order of succession was signed shortly afterward on December 3, 1455. At a time when male primogeniture was becoming firmly established across Europe for royal succession, the decision to promote the youngest child, a woman, above her brother and elder sister, was a radical move. The Aragonese annalist Zurita felt Juan's decision went "against the order and regulation of all laws, divine, natural and human and a great offence to God."²³

As a child, Leonor's place in the succession had been clearly delineated, in keeping with the stringent practices of her grandfather, Carlos III.²⁴ The document from the ceremony in 1427 clearly stated that Leonor was "in her rank and place an heir for the lady Queen [i.e. her mother, Blanca I]" in default of male heirs and also specifically "in default of our very dear and very beloved second born daughter Blanca, her elder sister."²⁵ However, as Juan had no compunctions about disregarding the provisions for the succession in his own marital contract, it was unlikely that any other previous agreements on the succession of the realm would prevent him from rearranging matters to suit his own interests.

Naming Leonor as heiress was not without risk as Gaston was a powerful French vassal who would certainly "open the Pyrenean pass to French influence."²⁶ However, Juan needed Gaston's support as a powerful neighbor and a gifted general. Leseur claims that Juan asked for Gaston to recover the towns that had been taken by Carlos's supporters in return for Leonor being made heir.²⁷ As a French vassal, the King of France had to be consulted before Gaston could accept the proffered crown; fortunately for Juan and Leonor, Charles VII approved of the arrangement. Gaston and Leonor took over the government of Navarre as lieutenants-general, with an annual pension of 12,000 florins, Carlos fled the country in the face of a joint offensive from his father and brother-in-law.²⁸ A second agreement, drawn up in Estella on January 12, 1457, reconfirmed the couple's position; Zurita notes:

The king would provide the investiture of the kingdom and the duchy of Nemours in the person of the princess [Leonor] for her own right as the legitimate daughter and for her cause in the Count of Foix her husband and in her children and descendants.²⁹

However, Leonor's position was never secure while her elder siblings were alive as there was always the possibility that her mercurial father would change his mind and alter the succession yet again. After Juan assumed the Aragonese throne in 1458, he did reconcile to some extent with the Principe de Viana, who was named to the lieutenancy of Catalonia.³⁰ Carlos was popular in the Aragonese Empire; the Kingdom of Sicily requested that he be named as Viceroy of Sicily and the Catalans pushed for Carlos to be formally named as Duke of Girona, the title normally given to the heir of Aragon.³¹ Juan resisted the pressure to name his eldest son as his universal

heir and imprisoned Carlos in December 1460, after he was accused of consorting with Enrique IV of Castile. The Catalans once again showed their support for Carlos, putting enough pressure on Juan to secure the Principe's release in February 1461 and a promise that Juan would name Carlos as his universal successor in June.³² This threatened Leonor's position as the heiress apparent in Navarre and Juana Enríquez's ambitions for her son Ferdinand to inherit the Aragonese throne. This threat was ended by Carlos's somewhat suspicious and certainly untimely death in September 23, 1461, which has been variously ascribed to tuberculosis or to poisoning by either his stepmother or younger sister, Leonor, who both stood to gain by his death.

The death of Carlos may have ended the conflict between father and son but it did not end the civil war in Navarre. Carlos's supporters, the Beaumonts, shifted their support to Blanca as the rightful Queen of Navarre and continued to oppose the rule of Juan of Aragon and Leonor as his lieutenant. As Carlos had died without legitimate issue, he had designated his sister Blanca as his heir and attempted to ensure her protection in his final negotiations with Juan.³³ However, even though Blanca's claim was upheld by the succession practices set out in the *Fueros*, the original testament of her mother and the designation of her brother, she faced firm opposition to her claim from her father, her ambitious sister and brother-in-law, and the Agramonts.

Leonor's position as lieutenant and heiress had been made slightly more secure by the death of her elder brother, but Blanca was a formidable rival. The presence of two potential queens in the compact kingdom heightened the sense of competition as Blanca's court in Olite was only 40 kilometers (approximately 24 miles) away from Leonor's own base at Sangüesa. Another contender for the Navarrese throne was the Count of Armagnac who was Gaston of Foix's neighbor and traditional adversary and the closest male claimant to the Navarrese crown, through his mother Isabel who was Leonor and Blanca's aunt.³⁴

An additional difficulty for Leonor was that the previous French king, Charles VII, had approved of Leonor's promotion to heiress, but the new king, Louis XI, who had come to the throne in the summer of 1461, was not yet committed to the scheme. In fact, Louis appeared to support Blanca, whom he referred to as "our very dear and much loved cousin, the Princess of Navarre."³⁵ Louis used his kinship with the princess and the earlier connections between the

crowns of France and Navarre as a means of justifying his interest in the Navarrese succession when he wrote to the Catalans to provide support for Blanca's position as Carlos's heir and successor.³⁶ The motivation here appears to be to reassert French hegemony over Navarre; Louis may have believed that Blanca would be grateful for a French ally after her dispute with her father, the King of Aragon, and the discomfiting divorce from her former husband, the King of Castile.

Gaston visited the new monarch of France that winter and offered him a matrimonial alliance to ensure his support of Leonor instead of Blanca: a marriage between their son and heir, Gaston, and the king's sister, Magdalena. The marriage alliance met with the approval of the French king, and the wedding took place on March 7, 1462.³⁷ The French king now had a vested interest in Leonor's accession as it would ensure that his sister and her children would rule Navarre in the future, theoretically returning the Pyrenean realm to the French orbit. Although Juan of Aragon could not have been pleased to see France increase its influence in Navarre, Leonor would have remained his preferred candidate for the Navarrese succession. Blanca had repeatedly demonstrated her antipathy to Juan through her support of Carlos and the Beaumont faction, whereas Leonor had served him as his lieutenant in Navarre for several years. Moreover, Juan still needed the alliance with Leonor's husband, the Count of Foix, his powerful neighbor who had lent successful military support during his battles with Carlos.

A month after the wedding of Gaston and Magdalena, on April 12, 1462, an accord was signed at Olite, which affirmed Leonor's rights as heiress and had a devastating effect on the fate of her older sister.³⁸ In order to prevent Blanca from opposing the terms of the treaty and her disinheritance, it was decided to send her north on the pretext of marrying Charles, Duke of Berri and brother of Magdalena and Louis XI. When Blanca rejected the idea of the match and refused to leave Navarre, she was taken by force. By April 23, she had reached the monastery of Roncesvalles, where she wrote a lengthy missive, protesting about her abduction, claiming "my father took me by force and contrary to my will."³⁹ In this document, Blanca repeatedly refers to herself as "the firstborn [eldest] and queen regnant and Lady and heiress of the said kingdom," which she noted came to her through "the maternal line."⁴⁰ The princess castigated her father for his treatment of the Principe de Viana, claiming Juan had "forgotten the love and paternal duty" that he owed his eldest son.⁴¹ Blanca also

blamed her sister and brother-in-law's ambition to rule Navarre for her plight; "The said Count of Foix and his wife, my sister, are taking me to exile me and to disinherit me of my kingdom of Navarre."⁴²

Blanca became increasingly desperate as she was taken further north, drafting appeals for help to her former husband, the King of Castile, her cousin the Count of Armagnac and the head of her Beaumont supporters. By April 30, she gave up her brave defense of her position as the rightful queen and attempted to donate her right to the crown to her ex-husband, Enrique of Castile, rather than see the kingdom go to her younger sister.⁴³ Once Blanca reached the northern frontier of Navarre, she was transferred to the custody of the Captal de Buch and imprisoned in the castle of Orthez, a stronghold that belonged to her brother-in-law, Gaston of Foix.

Blanca's removal did not quiet her supporters or end the struggle over the succession of the realm. Civil war still raged between the Beaumonts, who championed Blanca, and their rivals, the Agramonts, and matters had been made worse by Enrique of Castile's decision to invade Navarre to press the claim to the throne that his ex-wife had bestowed on him. The Bishop of Pamplona attempted to resolve the situation with the Accord of Tafalla in late November 1464, which called for Blanca's return to Navarre in order to settle the matter of the succession.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Blanca was unable to respond to the summons as she died, rather suspiciously, shortly afterward on December 2, 1464.⁴⁵ Her sister Leonor has been repeatedly accused by chroniclers, historians, novelists, and other writers of being involved in Blanca's death, although there is little definitive evidence to support this allegation.⁴⁶ There is no doubt that Leonor had a motive for her sister's murder, but Courteault has argued that given that only ten days lapsed between the ratification of the agreement and the death of the princess, it is difficult to claim that Blanca was killed specifically in response to the drafting of the accord.⁴⁷ The eighteenth-century historian Enrique Flórez accurately summed up Blanca's difficult position: "because [she] did not have the strength to maintain the right to the crown, she lost not only the kingdom, but her freedom and her life."⁴⁸

Leonor may have managed to clear the field of her elder brother and sister but she still had one sibling left to contend with, her half-brother Ferdinand, the son of Juan's second wife, Juana Enríquez. However, while Ferdinand and Carlos had been clear rivals for the Aragonese throne, Leonor and Ferdinand posed less of a threat to one another. Although Petronilla had become the titular Queen of Aragon in the

twelfth century, later female claimants such as Constanza and Juana, Countess of Foix, were unable to secure the throne due to a tradition that increasingly hardened against the accession of women.⁴⁹ By the end of the Middle Ages, it was established in Aragon that women could not personally reign but they could transmit their rights to their male descendants.⁵⁰ Therefore, while Leonor's sons could have theoretically threatened Ferdinand's position, Leonor herself could not. Ferdinand had no blood link to the Navarrese throne, thus theoretically he could not threaten Leonor's position as heiress. However, Juan had shown no qualms about overturning the succession before, and it is certainly possible that Juan's long tenancy in Navarre caused Ferdinand to view the kingdom as part of his paternal inheritance. In order to clarify the situation and avoid potential conflict after Juan's death, Leonor negotiated an accord with her stepmother on June 20, 1467, which clearly delineated her succession rights as well as that of her half-brother; on her father's death she would be Queen of Navarre, and Ferdinand would inherit the crowns of Sicily and Aragon.⁵¹

Only two years after this accord was signed, Leonor had another family rival who posed a threat to her ambition to obtain the Navarrese throne; however, this time it was neither her sibling nor her father, but her own son. It is significant that all of the queens in this study had sons to succeed them, however, Leonor is the only one who had to cope with a direct challenge from her son as a possible usurper.⁵² It has been argued that female successors were only viable as placeholders if, as Karl Werner argued, "she passed the power given to her by her father either to her husband or to her son."⁵³ The existence of a son provided dynastic continuity, and it is possible that a queen's subjects were more willing to tolerate female rule if it was clear that it was only a temporary prospect.

This line of argument, reducing queens regnant to placeholders, is not fully supported by the evidence in this study. The majority of the queens in this study bore their sons after they came to the throne. In their case, whereas a son may not have helped them succeed to the throne it may have secured their rule over time, particularly when there was a contested succession as in the cases of Juana I and Catalina. None of the queens in this study abdicated in favor of their son's claim however.

Only two of the queens in this study, Blanca I and Leonor, had sons at the time of their accession. In Blanca's case, as discussed previously, the existence of her son and his designation as her heir was

one of the key factors that smoothed her own path to the throne. When Leonor was initially designated as heir apparent and lieutenant of Navarre in 1455, she had five children, including three sons. The fact that both of her elder siblings had failed to produce legitimate children may possibly have been part of the reason, or a justification for why Juan decided to put her claim first.

It is important to note that none of the queens in this study were asked to step aside in favor of their son's rule. There was an Iberian precedent for this situation in the case of Berenguela of Castile. On the death of her brother Enrique I in 1217, Berenguela was recognized as the rightful heir as the eldest surviving child of Alfonso VIII. However, she was encouraged by her own supporters to abdicate in favor of her teenage son, Fernando.⁵⁴ Although Miriam Shadis has argued that Berenguela's decision to abdicate "framed and defined her grasp on political power," affirming the ability of women to succeed to the Castilian throne, the fact that Berenguela was coerced to move aside in favor of her son was a potentially dangerous precedent against female rule.⁵⁵ In another study of Berenguela's political career, Janna Bianchini has highlighted the concept of plural monarchy and argued that Berenguela, as an unmarried woman, needed her son to rule beside her to legitimate her rule.⁵⁶ Again, this argument does not precisely correspond to the situation of the Navarrese queens as most were married during their reigns and thus had a male coruler. However, Juana II experienced a period of sole rule as a widow, and she did not claim to reign on her son's behalf or with her son. Leonor eventually came to the throne as a widow and did not elevate one of her sons or her grandson to share power with her.

A son could be a potential rival for power, which is demonstrated by the civil war between Melisende of Jerusalem and her son Baldwin III in the twelfth century. Baldwin and his supporters felt that his mother was a regent who needed to step aside once he reached his majority. However, Melisende saw herself as a coruler rather than a regent and as the designated heir of her father Baldwin II she felt no need to abdicate power to her son.⁵⁷ The lack of consensus regarding whether or not Melisende was coruler or merely the queen dowager of Jerusalem can clearly be seen in the illustrations of Baldwin's coronation in contemporary chronicles. Jaroslav Folda and Sarah Lambert have both analyzed Melisende's portrayal in several chronicle illustrations of her son's coronation, which range from her inclusion as an onlooker in the crowd, being crowned alongside him, or even placing the crown on her son's head.⁵⁸ The resulting civil

war between the supporters of Melisende and those of her son did considerable damage to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and ended with Melisende's almost complete withdrawal from public life and governance. In comparison, Leonor's struggle with her son and heir was considerably shorter and less destructive to the realm.

The difficulties began when Leonor and her husband became impatient with their prolonged lieutenancy of the realm and sought to claim the Navarrese crown outright from Juan of Aragon.⁵⁹ However, Leonor's scheming attempts to ally with the French and remove Juan completely from the government of Navarre angered her father. His response was to take the lieutenancy of Navarre from Leonor and her husband and give it to their son and his French wife, Magdalena, instead on December 11, 1469.⁶⁰ Their alliance with the French king was rendered useless as Louis could not help Leonor and Gaston to regain the lieutenancy as that would mean displacing his own sister.

Leonor and Gaston reacted strongly to their son's promotion and listed out grievances in a letter signed by both parents, which began with "The reasons why the Prince and Princess of Navarre are unhappy with the Prince of Viana, their son."⁶¹ In the letter they castigated their ungrateful son for usurping their place and working with their enemy Juan "who has disinherited them of that which by right belongs to them."⁶² A letter on behalf of the young prince was issued in response, which attempted to defend his alliance with his grandfather and his "desire to serve him as a son should do to his grandfather":

The truth is that the King of Aragon sent him there and those of the kingdom of Navarre requested him many times to accept [Juan's orders]. All the time, for the honor and reverence of my lord and lady, his father and mother, said that he did not want to listen to them.⁶³

Louis XI attempted to intervene to reconcile Gaston and Leonor to their son, sending an envoy to the couple to tell them that the son was "their good, loyal and obedient son and serves them in all and by that he would please them."⁶⁴ Gaston was infuriated by Louis's interference and felt that he deserved the king's unalloyed support in this situation after years of loyal service.⁶⁵ Gaston replied that he although he remained Louis's loyal vassal, he could not comply with the king's request to forgive his son: "Regarding the pardoning of my

son, Sire, you know all of the dishonors that my said son has done to me."⁶⁶ Regarding Navarre, Gaston argued:

Sire, you want me to give the lieutenancy of Navarre to my said son, Sire you know that the right I have in Navarre, is because of the princess my wife and is a good reason that as long as we live, we will have the honor and the profit [of it]... and for this Sire, it is not our intention of my said wife nor of myself to do it, for it would not be for our good. But if it seems to you that it would be so good for our said son to have the government and lieutenancy, you have such great forces that you can give him.⁶⁷

The situation was soon resolved but not through a reconciliation; the young Gaston was killed in a tournament on November 23, 1470.⁶⁸ According to the chronicler Leseur, the death of their son and heir plunged the couple into deep grief and mourning, spending "more than fifteen days entirely in their blackened rooms."⁶⁹ It was a double tragedy; first that he had died so young, in the prime of his youth, and the father of two very young children; and second that there had been so much unreconciled conflict between them. The chronicler Andre Favyn argued that their son's tragic death was recompense for the couple's involvement in the demise of Leonor's sister Blanca.⁷⁰

Leonor regained the lieutenancy and returned to the position of heir apparent in Navarre but at a great personal cost. She was also forced to renegotiate with her father who forced her to sign the Convention of Olite on May 30, 1471.⁷¹ By the terms of this agreement, Leonor had to acknowledge Juan as King of Navarre until his death and agree to his right to name the keepers of Navarre's castles and fortress, as well as the right to occupy the strongholds of the realm. Leonor was returned to power but her wings had been clipped; Juan made it very clear that his authority remained supreme in Navarre, and that she would have to wait patiently for the crown or never wear it at all.

Leonor as Lieutenant

In total, Leonor governed Navarre as lieutenant, with some minor hiatuses, from 1455 to 1479, making her the effective ruler of the realm for nearly twenty five years. Out of her female predecessors, only Juana I served a longer period; however, Juana I was detached from the governance of the realm and physically distant from Navarre. Leonor however, remained in the kingdom throughout

her lieutenancy, making her the female sovereign with the highest record of residency in Navarre.

One of the enabling factors for Leonor's constant presence in the realm was the "Divide and Conquer" power-sharing mechanism that she employed with her husband, Gaston of Foix. Blanca and Juan had a similar division of duties, but unlike her parents' often contrary objectives, all of Leonor and Gaston's actions can be seen to be working toward their joint goals of obtaining the Navarrese crown and politically dominating the Pyrenean region. In order to achieve their ambitions, the couple were adept at working as a team even when physically separated or carrying out divergent duties.

Politically, it appears that they took on different areas of negotiation. Gaston was the designated emissary to the French court, which was entirely appropriate as one of the French king's leading magnates. One important example of his involvement in negotiations of this type include Gaston's visit to the French court in the winter of 1461–62 to negotiate the marriage between their heir and the French princess, Magdalena, which ensured Louis XI's backing for Leonor's promotion to *primogenita*. Gaston also conducted negotiations on behalf of his father-in-law, Juan of Aragon, with the King of France, with a successful outcome in the case of the Treaty of Olite in April 1462, which was intimately connected to the marriage that Gaston was orchestrating for his son and Magdalena of France.⁷²

Even though Gaston normally took on the role of intermediary with the French crown, there are two letters issued by Leonor during her marriage in December 1466 as lieutenant of Navarre that show her involvement in French affairs.⁷³ These letters were written during a period of extreme crisis, when Juan II's difficulties in Catalonia were matched with Leonor's continuing struggle with the Peralta clan in Navarre. In these letters, Leonor was playing on her familial connection to Louis XI, in hopes of his aid and backing, asking him to "commend this poor kingdom and the said princess to him [Louis XI] as one who is of his house."⁷⁴ Moreover, these letters show Leonor's independent interaction in crucial diplomatic negotiations with France, both in receiving embassies directly from Louis and in sending her own personal ambassador, Fernando de Baquedano, with detailed instructions on how to proceed.⁷⁵

Gaston appears to have been more engaged with marital negotiations for their numerous offspring than Leonor. However, this may be due to the fact that the couple overwhelmingly chose French marriages for their children. Only three of Leonor's children did not

contract a French betrothal: Pierre who became a cardinal, a daughter who died young, and Leonor's youngest son, Jacques (or Jaime), who married into the Navarrese nobility.⁷⁶ Given the fact that Gaston was more intimately connected to the French court and the nobility of the *Midi*, it seems reasonable that he would take on the role of chief negotiator for these matches. All of the marital arrangements for their children were made in order for Gaston and Leonor to achieve their joint goals, the acquisition of the throne of Navarre and the consolidation of their power and influence in the Pyrenean region.⁷⁷

The previously discussed marriage of Leonor's eldest son Gaston to the French princess Magdalena in 1462, proved to be the first in a succession of impressive marital alliances.⁷⁸ Their son Jean, later the Viscount of Narbonne, married Marie d'Orleans in 1476. Leonor's daughters made particularly impressive matches, eventually becoming the Marquessa of Montferrat, Countess of Armagnac, Duchess of Brittany, and Countess of Candale. The most far-flung of these matches, Maria's marriage to the Marquis of Montferrat in 1465, appears to have been made in order to further French policy objectives in Northern Italy.⁷⁹

However, not all of the matches for the children of Foix-Navarre were made to further French objectives, or even with French approval. Their daughter Jeanne's marriage to the Count of Armagnac, the erstwhile rival of the House of Foix, was not the expected result when the marriage negotiations began. Initially, when Juan II sent an embassy to negotiate a marriage with Armagnac in August 1466, the proposed bride was Leonor's half-sister, Juana of Aragon, Juan II's daughter by his second wife Juana Enríquez. Reglá Campistol insinuates that Gaston IV, who was involved in these negotiations, may have deliberately scuppered the talks to enable his own daughter to marry the count three years later and possibly weaken Franco-Aragonese relations, reflecting his own deteriorating relationship with his French overlord and his father-in-law.⁸⁰ Moreover, this match did not meet with the approval of the King of France who specifically prohibited it, fearing the alliance of two of the most powerful houses of the *Midi*.⁸¹ The match went ahead regardless and was celebrated in August 1469 at Lectoure.

Another match that was made without the approval of the French king was Marguerite's marriage to Francis II of Brittany in April 1471.⁸² In Gaston's letter of May 1471 to his ambassadors to the Duke of Brittany, he notes the "ancient alliances which were made

by marriages between the houses of Navarre and Brittany,” which alludes to the marriage of Carlos III’s sister Juana to Duke Jean V of Brittany from 1386 to 1399 and the marriage of Teobaldo I’s daughter Blanca to Jean I in the thirteenth century.⁸³ However, Marguerite’s marriage ultimately served to bind Brittany to the French crown, as the sole surviving child of this marriage, Anne of Brittany, ultimately married two kings of France, Charles VIII and Louis XII.⁸⁴

Their daughter Catherine’s marriage to the Comte de Candale’s heir, the Viscount de Castillon, had wide-ranging connections and impact.⁸⁵ The title Comte de Candale was a gallicization of the English peerage Earl of Kendal, which had been granted to the bridegroom’s father. The groom’s mother was an English noblewoman, Margaret de la Pole. One of Catherine’s daughters, Anne, later made a prestigious match with Ladislas Jagellon, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in 1502.⁸⁶

Finally, the youngest of Gaston and Leonor’s daughters was the focus of a projected marriage to the Duke of Guyenne.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, this alliance foundered due to the apparent reluctance of the bridegroom. Louis XI discussed the match at length in a letter to the Seigneur du Bouchage, dated August 18, 1471; the king seems to have had an alternative alliance in mind for Guyenne and was therefore tolerant of Guyenne’s reluctance for the match with Foix.⁸⁸ The young lady in question sadly appears to have died young, and no alternative match was arranged for her.

Another area where Gaston necessarily played a more central role was militarily. Robin Harris acknowledges Gaston’s successful military career and notes that after his useful military service to the French crown, “the comte was permitted by the [French] king in the last years of his life to employ his military resources in order to further his family’s interests in Navarre.”⁸⁹ Gaston also performed many military services for his father-in-law; the agreement of 1455 that promoted Leonor and Gaston to the successors of the realm required Gaston to go to Navarre on Juan’s behalf and retake those areas that had fallen to the rebels “for the honor of the King of Navarre as well as for his own interests and those of the princess his wife.”⁹⁰

However, there is some evidence for Leonor’s involvement in one military foray. In the winter of 1471, Leonor took part in a daring attempt to seize the capital, Pamplona, from her opponents, the Beaumonts. Leonor participated in an attempt to storm one of the city gates with a group of armed supporters. Moret notes that “this surprise was reckless; for it exposed the person of the princess to

obvious risk and was somewhat rash.”⁹¹ Moreover, the element of surprise was ruined by the cries of her supporters shouting “*Viva la Princesa!*” which alerted the Beaumont troops to the threat, and Leonor and her supporters were swiftly ejected from the city.⁹²

Like her mother, the noted peacemaker, Leonor was also involved in moves to reduce the civil discord in the realm. Zurita credited Leonor with “making a great effort to resolve the differences of the parties and subdue the kingdom into union and calm.”⁹³ Leonor represented her father in negotiations for a truce with the supporters of the Principe de Viana on March 27, 1458, at Sangüesa. Zurita notes, “The princess Lady Leonor was there at that time in Sangüesa and signed the treaty with the power of the king her father.”⁹⁴ Leonor was instrumental in the forging of another truce that was contracted in Sangüesa, in January 1473, and she was also present at a conference with her father and her half-brother Ferdinand in Vitoria in 1476 “accompanied by the nobility of Navarre to renew the treaties . . . and attempt to arrive at a stable peace.”⁹⁵

Although both spouses were named to the lieutenancy of Navarre, the documentary evidence clearly demonstrates that Leonor appears to have taken on the bulk of the administration of the realm. This was entirely appropriate as it was Leonor, not Gaston, who had the hereditary right to the crown. Moreover, it was logical for Leonor to remain in Navarre so that her husband could look after his own patrimonial holdings and continue to serve as a military commander for the King of France. Ramírez Vaquero remarks that Leonor

remained permanently in the kingdom, almost continually, visiting her territories over the Pyrenees very infrequently and with all safety [in mind], scarcely knew her daughter-in-law [Magdalena] and her grandchildren to whom, nevertheless, she would send frequent letters.⁹⁶

Leonor was an active lieutenant but she struggled to implement her rule fully across the kingdom, as many areas were dominated by the Beaumont faction who were opposed to her and her father Juan of Aragon. This meant that at times, she had no control or access to certain key cities in the realm, including the capital, as mentioned previously. Her grandfather’s impressive seat at Olite was the center of her sister’s court, but Leonor eventually regained her hold on the castle and used it as one of her primary residences between 1467 and 1475. Sangüesa remained an important base for Leonor,

and she was also associated with Tudela on the southern edge of the kingdom.

Leonor's difficulty in implementing her rule across the whole of the kingdom is illustrated by a prolonged struggle between the lieutenant and the town of Tafalla, which consistently refused to send representatives when she called together meetings of the Cortes. Tafalla was a center of Beaumont strength, which had supported her brother Carlos in his struggle with Juan of Aragon and was thus bitterly opposed to her appointment to the lieutenancy. Between 1465 and 1475 there is a series of missives from Leonor both summoning representatives from the town and then expressing disappointment when they failed to arrive.⁹⁷ During this period, Leonor appears to have called a meeting of the Cortes at least six times, but the town consistently refused to send envoys to the assembly.⁹⁸ There is a sense of increasing exasperation and anger in these documents at the repeated failure to participate in these important events. At one point, in late 1471, Leonor personally came to the town to give advance notice of her intent to call another Cortes the following summer, perhaps to circumvent any excuse that the town did not have sufficient time to send representatives, but Tafalla still did not participate in the assembly.⁹⁹

As her authority was contested, Leonor was keen to stress her agency and her position in the documents that she issued. However, at times she even struggled with the chancery; between 1472–73, Juan de Beaumont retained the seals of the kingdom and refused to let Leonor have access to them.¹⁰⁰ In 1475, she granted a reduction in taxes to the important city of Estella acknowledging the reduced capacity of the city to pay after the population had shrunk from the effects of war and flooding.¹⁰¹ In this document she stressed her efforts to assist all of the urban centers of the realm, to help them recover from the years of civil conflict and devastation, “the other good towns of the said realm have been refurbished by our certain knowledge, special grace, our own change and royal authority.”¹⁰²

Leonor's address clause drew on all of her family and marital ties as a means of establishing her authority:

“Lady Leonor, by the grace of God princess *primogenita*, heiress of Navarre, princess of Aragon and Sicily, Countess of Foix and Bigorre, Lady of Bearn, Lieutenant general for the most serene king, my most redoubtable lord and father in this his kingdom of Navarre.”¹⁰³

The signet that Leonor used for the majority of her lieutenancy as well as her *sello secreto* had heraldic devises that mirror her address clause, bearing the arms Navarre, her family dynasty of Evreux, her husband's counties of Foix, Béarn, and Bigorre, and finally the Trastámara connections to Aragon, Castile, and Léon.¹⁰⁴

To sum up, Gaston and Leonor's ability to divide up roles and responsibilities demonstrates the couple's effective partnership, using each partner in the most appropriate arena. Moreover, this division was entirely necessary as the couple's widespread territorial holdings and the demands of balancing the complicated and difficult political situation both within Navarre and the *Midi* and between France, Castile, and Aragon meant that both partners needed to be fully engaged and active in order to achieve their mutual goals and further their dynastic interests.

Even though Leonor and Gaston generally employed this mode of "Divide and Conquer" that left Leonor primarily responsible for the administration of Navarre while Gaston oversaw his own sizable patrimony, the couple did work together as a unit whenever possible. Documentary evidence shows that Gaston came to stay with Leonor in Navarre for short periods, particularly during the autumn of 1469 and 1470.¹⁰⁵ There is also some additional evidence to indicate an earlier reunion in 1464, which appears to indicate a desire on the part of the couple to be together. Gaston and his party were stuck in the mountain passes between Foix and Navarre on his way to visit Leonor. The princess issued a series of orders to dispatch men and pay for additional recruits and mules in the mountains in order to clear the passes and roads for Gaston, including one order for 300 men to be sent to help.¹⁰⁶ Gaston's death in 1472 took place on another journey to see his wife in Navarre; he died en route of natural causes in the Pyrenean town of Roncesvalles.¹⁰⁷

Overall, Gaston and Leonor worked together with the mutual goal of obtaining the crown of Navarre, throwing the weight of Gaston's power, wealth, connection, and military forces behind Leonor's hereditary rights and were willing to fight off opposition from their own family in order to succeed. They worked in partnership, with each partner taking on the most appropriate role; Leonor was responsible for the governance of Navarre, and Gaston supported her militarily and financially. They both worked on diplomatic efforts to achieve their ambitions; Gaston used his position as a powerful French vassal and general to gain support while Leonor negotiated with her Iberian relatives to maintain their rights.

Widowhood: Alone on a Stormy Sea

Leonor's lieutenancy in Navarre had always been challenging given the ongoing conflict and the antipathy of the Beaumont faction to her rule on behalf of Juan of Aragon. Gaston's death in 1472 made her situation considerably more difficult as Gaston had always been her strongest ally, providing her with crucial military, financial, and political support.

Their grandson Francisco Fébo took over Gaston's patrimony, although in his will Gaston acknowledged Leonor's rights as the heir to Navarre and that she would continue to administer the kingdom.¹⁰⁸ As Fébo was still a child, Leonor's daughter-in-law, Magdalena of France, became regent in Foix, but she was unwilling to provide the same level of support for Leonor's lieutenancy that Gaston had. Zurita noted that "between the Princess of Navarre and the Princess of Viana, her daughter-in-law, there was great dissention and difference."¹⁰⁹ Moret noted that one of the sources of disagreement between the two women was a dispute over financial dues.¹¹⁰ Moreover, Magdalena's desire to support her brother, the King of France, often brought her into conflict with Juan of Aragon.¹¹¹ As regent for her son, Magdalena worked to protect his interests and refused to sign treaties that she felt could have a negative effect on his eventual succession and rule in Navarre.¹¹²

As always, Navarre was in a difficult position between Aragon, Castile, and France, and Leonor had to steer a careful path between them. Zurita commented that

it was a very dangerous competition between these diverse nations and between the kings of Spain and France and the princess was left as an inheritance the enmity and dissention between these princes.¹¹³

Leonor had close blood ties to the rulers of the Iberian realms; her father ruled Aragon and her half-brother was now king consort of Castile. However, Leonor had lost a direct link to France now that her husband had died and may have been concerned that her poor relationship with Magdalena could cause her alliance with the French king to deteriorate. Leonor was placed in a very difficult situation when Louis XI offered to give Leonor the governance of her husband's rich territories in France in return for several key Navarrese fortresses that he needed to advance on Castile.¹¹⁴ Louis must have clearly been in dire need of these fortresses if he was willing to strip

his own sister of the governance of her son's territories. However, Leonor declined claiming that technically the fortresses belonged to her father and that she could not turn them over to France.

Leonor's relationship with the King of France was always extremely difficult. She could not afford to alienate him entirely given the fact that her children and grandchildren held several major French lordships and that Navarre's northernmost sector, the *Ultrapuertos*, bordered France. However, given the hostilities and rivalry between the French king and her father, the King of Aragon and her half-brother, now the King consort of Castile, she was placed in a very challenging situation. It has often been insinuated or assumed by writers such as Coll Julia and Suárez Fernández that Leonor was always pro-French in her outlook, but this is more likely a reflection of the undoubtedly Francophile Magdalena and Catalina's Albret connections. Leonor was willing to negotiate with the King of France, but this may have been a more strategic move to counterbalance the bullying behavior of her father and half-brother by threatening to work with their enemy. Another possibility is that, like her mother, Leonor was trying to orchestrate peace between the three kings. An end to the hostility between the three kings would have alleviated many of Leonor's problems, since she was torn between family allegiances and ties of loyalty on both sides, and her kingdom was literally sandwiched between these rival powers. Leonor felt obliged to work with both the French and Iberian kings and felt that she could do this without upsetting the balance of power in the region. She attempted to explain this to her father when justifying her discussions with the King of France in 1476:

This alliance which the lady princess will build with the King of France will not augment the power of the said King of France nor diminish the power of the majesty of the king our lord [Juan]... the lady princess would be much more able to negotiate... for the said lord kings her father and brother with the king of France [if] they were in friendship and alliance instead of enemies.¹¹⁵

Leonor's half-brother Ferdinand was alarmed by Leonor's negotiations with the King of France and determined to prevent the French king from being able to bring an army through Navarre in order to attack Castile or Aragon. Luis Suárez Fernández claims that Ferdinand had a lifelong policy of keeping Navarre "at peace and neutralized", though perhaps it might be more accurate to say that

his goal was to prevent a Franco-Navarrese alliance.¹¹⁶ In an accord signed in Tudela in October 1476 which was intended to broker a lasting peace between the Agramonts and Beaumonts, Ferdinand used the treaty to serve his own interests. Ferdinand claimed that Castile was obliged to defend Leonor as heiress and most importantly defend Navarre from a French invasion. In order to protect Leonor and Navarre, Ferdinand argued that he required the possession of the fortress of Pamplona and several other key castles across the realm, in effect establishing a Castilian protectorate over Navarre.¹¹⁷ Leonor was also required to pay for the 150 Castilian soldiers who would be garrisoned in Pamplona.¹¹⁸ In return, Ferdinand made a vague offer to restore several towns which had been given over to Castile in 1463 to Navarre.¹¹⁹

The treaty of Tudela was clearly not intended to protect Leonor's inheritance or position and was ineffective in terms of creating a lasting peace between the rival factions in the realm.¹²⁰ Leonor felt that she was not getting sufficient help counter the rebels and bring stability to the kingdom:

[she] complained to the king her father and the King of Castile her Brother [Ferdinand]... that she in past times had worked to sustain and defend those who were faithful subjects of the king so that they and the kingdom would not be lost.¹²¹

Juan refused to come to Navarre to help Leonor, and Leonor feared she might lose the realm completely if she journeyed to Aragon to confer with her father.¹²² In 1478, Leonor wrote to the *Consellers de Barcelona*, threatening them with the possibility that she might ally with France to get the assistance that she so desperately needed to fight the rebels. She described herself as "the most obedient daughter that was ever born," trying to hold and administer the kingdom for her father, the King of Aragon.¹²³

Despite the tension between the two half-siblings, Ferdinand did support Leonor through a final challenge to her right to succeed in 1474. Her brother, the Principe de Viana, had sired an illegitimate child, Ana de Navarra, with his mistress María de Armendárez. Ana was married to the Castilian Count of Medinaceli, Luis de la Cerda y Vega. The count claimed that his wife was the rightful successor to the Navarrese throne and had a document that he claimed was a will that had been handwritten by the Principe, which named Ana as his heir and asserted that she had been officially legitimized.¹²⁴

Moreover, the count offered his support to Leonor's enemies and to Ferdinand of Aragon.¹²⁵ However, Ferdinand "knew that it [the will] was all fiction and invention" and informed his father of the intrigue.¹²⁶ Fortunately for Leonor, Juan cracked down on the pretensions of the count and his wife, and Ana died in 1477, although she did leave a daughter, Leonor. Bizarrely enough, there was a suggestion that one way to resolve the succession dispute and satisfy the Count of Medinaceli's ambition to be King of Navarre was to marry the now-widowed count to Leonor herself.¹²⁷ Although this appears to have been a strange way to resolve the dispute, Moret notes that "it was one remedy for the problems of Navarre, which became greater every day."¹²⁸

Tragically perhaps, Leonor hardly had a chance to enjoy the position of queen regnant when it finally came her way. Leonor's death, only a few weeks after her father's in February 1479, meant that her rule as queen lasted less than a month. Leonor changed her address clause to reflect her altered position as "Queen of Navarre, Princess of Aragon and Sicily, Duchess of Nemours, of Gandia, of Montblanc and Peñafiel, Countess of Bigorre and Ribagorza and Lady of Balaguer."¹²⁹ Ramírez Vaquero points out that most of these titles were disputed; several were titles that should have come to her as part of her paternal inheritance from her father but in reality would have gone to her half-brother Ferdinand de Aragon. In addition, the French titles that Leonor had held as Gaston's wife had already been passed to her grandson. It appears that Leonor had enough time to mount a formal coronation, on January 28, 1479, at Tudela, firmly establishing herself as Queen of Navarre, even if only for a brief moment.¹³⁰ Moret remarked that "out of all the kings and queens of Navarre she was the one who reigned the shortest, although she may have been the one who desired [the crown] most."¹³¹

CHAPTER 6

CATALINA I: UNEQUAL TO THE TASK?

Catalina is the last of the queens in this survey, although she is not the last reigning Queen of Navarre. That distinction was held by Jeanne d'Albret or Juana III, who held the title from 1555 to 1572. However, although she was the sovereign lord of an impressive collection of territory in the southwest of France, Jeanne d'Albret did not rule the Iberian Kingdom of Navarre itself, as it had been annexed by Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512. This disastrous event took place during the reign of Catalina and has been the subject of intensive study by scholars of Navarrese, Iberian, and European history for its significance in the political events of the period and beyond. As 2012 marked the 500th anniversary of the annexation, it has once again come to the forefront of media and academic attention. However, while the event itself has attracted considerable interest, Catalina has not garnered a similar amount of academic research. The strongest offering on her reign was the recent work of Alvaro Adot Lerga, which has provided an excellent study of the political challenges that Catalina faced and the lead up to the annexation itself.¹ However, while Catalina's reign has often been studied in terms of its political significance, she has yet to be examined in the context of female rule, and how this factor may have played a considerable part in the challenges she faced. This chapter will evaluate Catalina's rule as a female sovereign and examine how she responded to the extremely difficult circumstances that she had to cope with, which may well have been exacerbated by her gender and youth.

Succession: The Contested Crown

Catalina's situation was similar to Juana II's as she was also a minority claimant with an uncle who contested her right to succeed.

Ironically, Catalina's uncle tried to use the precedent set by Juana II's failed accession in France, which prohibited female succession as a pretext for unseating his niece. However, the laws of Navarre and the precedent set by Juana I and the following queens clearly demonstrated the legality of female rule in the realm and affirmed Catalina's claim. Unlike Juana I, Catalina did not have the initial support of the King of France, who favored the claim of her rivals for a long period.

Catalina's uncle was Jean, the Viscount of Narbonne, the third son of Leonor of Navarre. There was no doubt that Jean was a viable claimant, in fact he was the closest male heir to the throne, and Catalina's brother Francisco Fébo had named him as next in the succession after Catalina in his will.² However, Moret emphatically argues that Jean had no right to push Catalina's claim aside, "but he wanted to imagine that the Salic Law was observed in Navarre, which excluded daughters from the inheritance of the kingdom of France."³

Moreover, this was not the first time Jean de Narbonne had contested the succession. On the death of his elder brother, Gaston, the Principe de Viana, Jean had appealed to Paris, claiming that as the eldest surviving child of Gaston IV, he should succeed to his father's substantial Pyrenean territories. Jean predicated his rights on the fact that his brother had died before he had actually ruled in Foix-Béarn, and therefore the governance of the French territories should come to him instead of Francisco Fébo.⁴

Although Louis XI may have indeed have been sympathetic to Jean's case, as Suárez Fernández has argued, in the end it was extremely unlikely that the French king would undermine the position of his sister and nephew.⁵ Louis had already affirmed his support of his sister's regency with a series of missives to the *États du Béarn*, including one early letter dated August 7, 1472, which entreated the *États* to maintain their loyalty to his "very dear and beloved" sister and both of her children.⁶ Despite his initial lack of success, Jean decided to try again to unseat his brother's progeny when Catalina succeeded to the throne. This time the situation was different; Charles VIII was on the throne and Jean's rival was now a young girl.

Catalina's situation was complicated by the fact that the union of the Navarrese kingdom with the collection of French territories that belonged to the House of Foix-Béarn meant that she had to be confirmed as her brother's rightful heir by both the Cortes in Pamplona and the *États du Béarn* in Pau. Catalina had the weight of law and

custom on her side in Pamplona as the clearly designated heiress of the direct line of descent, and although her Iberian subjects may not have approved of her French mother as regent, they could hardly reject Catalina's right to be their next sovereign. Moret notes the Navarrese were quick to issue a letter of condolence to Magdalena and Catalina on Francisco Fébo's death, which offered to serve the new queen with "the most keen loyalty."⁷ Catalina needed this public expression of support, and Moret comments that "this expression of condolence and love was good and was returned with plentiful appreciation and satisfaction on the part of both princesses."⁸ Another document from the archives at Tafalla demonstrates the town's immediate response to the death of Francisco Fébo with a pledge of loyalty to the new queen:

And here in the said council meeting by all of the aforementioned [people] unanimously confirm and swear on the cross and by the saints evangelists each of them personally touched and reverently adored [them] to keep the honor and service to the crown of Navarre and the said Queen Lady Catalina our natural and sovereign lady and to live and die in her service against all the people in the world as loyal and true as subjects should be to their Queen and Lady.⁹

However, as Zurita comments, the ongoing civil unrest in Navarre made it challenging for the young queen to press her rights, and the succession quarrel with her uncle made it difficult for her to assert her authority in her French territories or travel to Pamplona for her coronation.¹⁰ Indeed the Cortes repeatedly protested at Catalina's delayed arrival in Navarre; the queen's response in 1489 made it clear that the threat of her uncle's potential usurpation made it imperative to remain north of the Pyrenees, in order to defend her territories there.¹¹

The situation on the French side of the Pyrenees was less clear with regard to Catalina's inheritance. Officially, Catalina was quickly confirmed as her brother's successor; the *États du Béarn* confirmed her as *Dame Souveraine* in February 1483 and the *États* of Bigorre and Foix issued similar confirmations the following month.¹² However, the nobility of Catalina's French territories were divided; some supported her claim, while others backed her uncle. Many of the nobles, such as the Viscount of Lautrec, were loyal to Catalina, but her uncle had a great deal of support in Foix, where the seneschal and several key lords espoused his cause.¹³ The conflict became increasingly violent

between 1485 and 1488 as Jean attempted to seize territory with force of arms and Magdalena had to call on Catalina's vassals to help her defend her lands.¹⁴ The *États du Béarn* pledged 6,000 troops to defend her rights, "In the case that Monsieur de Narbonne prepares himself to make war, the said men of the *États*, desiring to oppose his plans, offer to serve personally and arm themselves to defend the realm."¹⁵

Louis XI had protected Francisco Fébo's rights, but Charles VIII was less willing to throw his weight behind Catalina. The French king called a council at Montargis in the autumn of 1484 in an attempt to arbitrate between the two claimants. However, rather than decide between his two cousins, Charles issued a letter to the *États du Béarn* confirming their right to select their ruler.¹⁶ The language is deliberately neutral and significantly the French king does not accord Catalina any of her titles, French or Iberian, merely referring to her as Magdalena's daughter.

The succession dispute between Catalina and Jean de Narbonne was only formally resolved with the Treaty of Tarbes, which was signed on September 7, 1497.¹⁷ This document was intended to "put an end to all debates" and confirmed Catalina's rights as well as the rights of Jean and his son Gaston to the territories specifically bequeathed to him by Gaston IV. At the end of the document it specifically noted that

the said lord Jean has promised, admitted, agreed and made a pact that . . . he and his heirs will not make or cause a debate, question the rights for himself or for another, will not bring a trial against the queen or her successors in regard or not in regard to this judgment concerning these said lands and lordships.¹⁸

However, Jean did not easily relinquish his ambition, nor did the French king forget that he had an alternative candidate to support if Catalina failed to please him. After Jean's death in 1500, his children carried on his quest to claim the rights of Foix and Navarre, which continued to create difficulties for Catalina. Moret cites Louis XII's personal affection for Jean's son Gaston and the French king's preference for Gaston's candidacy for the Navarrese throne as one of the major factors that made Louis "the greatest enemy" of Catalina and Jean in the tense decade before the Annexation of 1512.¹⁹ Louis XII added weight to Gaston's claim by making him Duke of Nemours, a title formerly held by kings and queens of Navarre in 1507.²⁰ Bourret describes Gaston as

nephew of Louis XII, brother-in-law of Ferdinand the Catholic, basking in the glow of his victory [as a French captain in the Italian Wars], Gaston of Foix constituted a redoubtable competitor for Catalina of Navarre and Jean d'Albret.²¹

Although Gaston was killed at the Battle of Ravenna in April 1512, the threat to Catalina's throne remained as Jean's daughter Germana pressed her own claim to the lands of Foix-Béarn and the Navarrese throne. In 1506, Jean's daughter Germana became the second wife of Ferdinand of Aragon.²² This marriage was disastrous for Catalina as Ferdinand had married into the branch of her family that had most strongly opposed her own claim to the Navarrese throne. Ironically, Gaston's death in 1512 actually forced Louis XII to break his allegiance to Catalina's rivals as he feared the incursion of Germana's husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, if his wife was able to press her claim to Foix and Béarn.²³ Moret notes that "if she became Princess of Béarn and had children with Ferdinand, the Spanish would establish themselves in France. This had to be prevented at all costs."²⁴ However, even though the French signed a treaty of alliance with Catalina and Jean d'Albret, the danger from Germana's claim was not eliminated.²⁵ Ferdinand used the rights of his wife as part of his justification for the annexation of the Iberian kingdom in 1512.²⁶ Germana's firm belief in her claim as Leonor's direct successor can be seen in the document she drafted to formally cede her rights to Navarre to Emperor Charles V, a decade after the annexation took place.²⁷

Minority Rule and Matrimonial Politics

Part of the difficulty that Catalina had in establishing her rule and defending her rights came from the fact that she was still in her minority when she came to the throne. Minority rule necessitated some form of regency government, and in the case of both Catalina and Juana I, their mothers administered some or all of their inheritance on their behalf during the queens' childhood. In both situations, the realm was governed on behalf of the young queens by a combination of a mother as regent and a father-in-law who was formally designated as a governor during the queens' minority years. Again, in both cases, these familial "stand-ins" were French, which created distrust and sometimes outright antipathy from the Navarrese.

Juana I transitioned smoothly into her majority due to the decision of the inquest that affirmed her adult status coupled with her

marriage in 1284 and her father-in-law's death the year after, which established her as the Queen of France and Navarre as well as Countess of Champagne and Brie. However, Catalina's situation was more difficult as her mother proved much more difficult to dislodge from her position as regent. The final twenty years of the fifteenth century in Navarre were dominated by the regency of Magdalena, the Princess of Viana and the sister of Louis XI, as she served as regent for her son Francisco Fébo and later her daughter Catalina. Although Francisco Fébo's will named his sister Catalina as his universal heir, there were some who opposed her accession because it signaled the continued regency of her mother.²⁸

This antipathy toward the French made the young queen's marriage a difficult prospect. Catalina was an attractive marital prize as she had inherited a sizable territorial amalgamation built through the marriage of Leonor and Gaston, described by Christian Bourret as a *royaume transpyrénéen* or trans-Pyrenean kingdom. However, given the divergent loyalties and interests of the queen's French and Iberian subjects, it would be difficult to find a consort who would be attractive to all parties. The realm's expanded size and precedence had the potential to upset the delicate equilibrium in the region between the rival powers on either side of the Pyrenees and both France and Spain tried to use the prospective marriage of the young queen to their own ends.²⁹

Henry Kamen has argued that the *Reyes Católicos* "resorted systematically to marriage alliances as a way of pursuing policy aims," and bringing Navarre, the kingdom that Ferdinand's father had ruled for so long, under their dominion was definitely one of Ferdinand's ambitions.³⁰ Ferdinand and Isabel had already offered the hand of their daughter, Juana, in marriage to Catalina's brother Francisco Fébo, while Louis XI had wanted to see the king marry Juana *la Beltraneja*, the disputed daughter of Enrique IV who was Isabel's rival for the throne of Castile.³¹ However, the untimely death of the young king meant that neither of these marriage plans could come to fruition.³²

This time Ferdinand and Isabel offered a possible marriage to their son and heir Juan to bind the two realms together, which would have greatly bolstered Catalina's tenuous and contested position.³³ Favyn remarks on the support they offered Catalina:

Good God, what charity the Princes of Castile [showed] . . . and what tracts of friendship they sent to the orphaned Queen Catherine, in which they wanted to embrace the quarrel, to maintain and defend her against all who would work against her rule.³⁴

However, Magdalena informed the Castilian ambassadors that she was rejecting the match as the prince was only five years of age while “the Princess Catherine, her daughter, had already reached the age to be married.”³⁵ The prince’s age may have been the source of Magdalena’s rejection of the Castilian suit for another critical reason. According to Moret, the Castilian monarchs were expecting to govern Catalina’s territories if she married Juan as “legitimate administrators of the prince, their son, in his minority.”³⁶ This would obviously be extremely undesirable for Magdalena personally and for the citizens of Catalina’s French territories. However, Catalina was in need of assistance to affirm her position against the challenge of her uncle and the rebellious factions in Navarre, and turning down the support of Isabel and Ferdinand was potentially risky. Moret shows disbelief at Magdalena’s refusal of the Castilian suit:

Who in Navarre would dare to say a word against the great power of the kings of Castile and Aragon? And they [the Navarrese] had not subjected themselves sincerely to obey their legitimate queen! And it would be so obviously useful to enjoy the honor of being the greatest and most respectable queen in Christendom, as Prince Juan was the heir of the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Sicily and many others, all of these would give and increase the splendor of her majesty.³⁷

Although rejecting the Castilian suit was certain to anger the *Reyes Católicos*, it pleased Charles VIII of France. Charles dispatched Antoine de la Tour with a long list of reasons why the Castilian suit should be rejected, beginning with the fact that the groom’s father was the head of the House of Aragon, “which has long been the formal enemy of the House of France and allied with its enemies.”³⁸ The King of France made the case for another strong candidate for the queen’s hand; Jean d’Albret, the son and heir of Alain d’Albret, whose territories would bolster the realm’s Pyrenean bloc. Although Jean was not yet a full-grown man, he was roughly the same age as Catalina and certainly of an age to marry, unlike her young Castilian suitor. In addition to the directives sent through his equerry, Charles VIII wrote the *États du Béarn*, to Magdalena and to Catalina directly to encourage the Albret marriage. In his letter to Catalina, Charles told her that “I dearly want . . . for you to be married in this kingdom [i.e. France] and close to me.”³⁹ He claimed that it “would give me the greatest pleasure” if Catalina accepted the Albret match, stressing the loyalty and virtue of the family.

The Albrets had already gained impressive benefits through matrimonial politics, as Béatrice Leroy notes, “Their power came from their matrimonial alliances which brought them dowries and the love of princes.”⁴⁰ Support for the Albret-Foix-Navarre union went deeper than the King of France’s whim. Robin Harris suggests the Albret marriage was strongly supported by Magdalena’s relatives at the French court as a means to “keep the South-West firm in its loyalty to the (French) king.”⁴¹ Béatrice Leroy has suggested that the regent of France, Anne de Beaujeu, was the one who encouraged the marriage between Catalina and Jean “following the politics of her father.”⁴²

In connection with the proposed marriage Magdalena, Alain d’Albret, the Count of Armagnac, the Count of Comminges and the Viscount of Lautrec, signed a treaty that declared their mutual “alliance, amity and confederation,” as well as their support for the young French king. This important agreement was signed a few days before Catalina’s marital contract on June 10, 1484.⁴³ This pact may have reflected Magdalena’s motivation to ensure the support of her neighbors, especially Alain d’Albret, to secure the help she needed to keep Catalina on the throne. Moret summarized Magdalena’s reasoning for her preference for the Albret marriage:

It seemed to be a good idea to marry near to the kingdom inside France and with a confident and powerful prince who brought great estates with which the Kingdom of Navarre could collaborate and increase itself, and at the same time it could coexist with without submitting itself to another more powerful. In this she followed the ideas of former kings, who always obtained the same thing to mediate similar alliances.⁴⁴

From this perspective, Magdalena’s choice seems entirely reasonable. Although Magdalena has often been portrayed as blindly loyal to France, Pierre Narbaitz argues that her decision regarding Catalina’s marriage marks her as a “worthy woman and a shrewd politician.”⁴⁵ Rejecting Ferdinand and Isabel’s son was a great risk, but it also meant that Navarre would remain independent, and the Albret marriage would bring new territory and strong support for Catalina’s rule in the *Midi*.

However solid Magdalena’s reasoning may have been, there was a lack of consensus between Catalina’s French and Iberian subjects over which candidate would provide a better alliance. Both

possibilities offered a territorial merger once the bridegroom came into his inheritance. However, these two mergers were very different prospects with different political and territorial ramifications. If Catalina married the Infante of Castile, Navarre would eventually be united with Castile, Aragon, and all of their subsidiary realms. It would also be tied firmly into the Iberian orbit and be closely aligned with the policies and goals of the *Reyes Católicos* resulting in Navarre being once again the minority partner in a union of kingdoms. This would grant them security on their southern borders, but could antagonize the King of France, to whom Catalina owed homage for her French territories. On the other hand, the marriage with Jean d'Albret would strengthen Navarre's long-standing connection to France, and the kingdom would retain supremacy, or at least maintain an equal position, in the territorial partnership. It would also expand the frontiers of the realm, increasing the size and importance of the Pyrenean bloc.

The *États du Béarn* naturally favored the Albret match, which they found much more palatable than the Castilian suitor. Favyn noted the hostile reaction of the Béarnaise citizens to the Castilian proposal as they felt the Castilians were the "murderers of their last king," and they registered their disapproval of the match in a petition signed at Pau on May 20, 1484.⁴⁶

However, the queen's Iberian subjects objected to the French marriage proposal and the Cortes of Navarre sent repeated missives in 1483 to plead for a Spanish betrothal for Catalina.⁴⁷ Catalina's uncle, the powerful Cardinal Pierre (or Pedro) of Foix, added his support to the Castilian match.⁴⁸ The Cortes also sent a missive directly to the *États du Béarn* in hopes of persuading them of the "peace and benefits" of the marriage.⁴⁹ The city of Tudela went so far as to appeal directly to Ferdinand and Isabel over the regent's intention to marry Catalina to Jean d'Albret and declared their wish to "elect" the Infante Juan as Catalina's husband and king consort of Navarre.⁵⁰ Even when it became clear that Magdalena was going ahead with the Albret match, the Cortes made a last-ditch effort to stall the marriage by stressing that the King of France must be consulted about the Albret marriage due to his close relationship to the bride and also reiterated their continued preference for the Castilian match.⁵¹ In spite of the protests of her Iberian subjects, Catalina and Jean d'Albret signed a marriage contract on June 14, 1484.⁵²

Catalina's marriage came within eighteen months of her accession to the throne in June 1484; Jean and Catalina were nearly the same

age, having been born in 1469 and 1468, respectively. Juana I's marriage had signaled the end of her minority years, but even though Catalina and Jean d'Albret were in their mid-teens and acknowledged as sovereigns, they remained under the regency of Magdalena and, to some extent, of Jean's formidable father, Alain d'Albret. Indeed, the fact that Jean was still in his teens may have made him more attractive to both mother and daughter. Catalina would have appreciated a husband of a similar age and who according to several chroniclers was handsome, well mannered, and well educated.⁵³ Magdalena for her part may have preferred a teenaged king consort who would be less likely to contest her rule than a fully grown adult.

The age at which a dependent child attained their majority is somewhat unclear. Previous examples that have been examined in this study vary; the Champenois enquiry on the age of a female heirless to perform and receive homage for the case of Juana I decreed that eleven years of age was sufficient. However, the agreements on succession signed after the coronation of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux stipulated that a regency would end when the heir, male or female, was twenty-one.⁵⁴ In the county of Foix, Gaston IV succeeded to the title in 1436 when he was only thirteen and was released from the regency of his uncle, Mathieu de Comminges, in 1440 when he was seventeen.⁵⁵ Any of these examples could have served as a possible precedent in the case of Catalina's minority.

It is important to note that although Catalina and Jean married in 1484, it appears that their marriage was not consummated until 1491, when both spouses were in their early twenties.⁵⁶ It is plausible that the couple was still considered to be of minority age until 1491, and thus both Magdalena and Alain d'Albret may have felt it was still appropriate to be governing on the couple's behalf. However, it is surprising that the consummation of their marriage was delayed for so long, especially given Magdalena's insistence to the Castilian ambassadors that Catalina was of marriageable age in 1484.⁵⁷ It is certainly possible that the consummation was deliberately delayed so that Magdalena could continue to exercise the regency on the couple's behalf.⁵⁸

Catalina's position as Queen of Navarre had been formally acknowledged since her brother's death in 1483, but due to the contested claim of her uncle Jean of Narbonne, the ongoing crisis in Navarre, and the continued regency of her mother, Catalina had never been formally invested as queen, nor had she truly exercised her royal authority in Navarre. Catalina's father-in-law and two of Catalina's

uncles, Jaime and Cardinal Pedro of Foix, had served as viceroys for the young sovereigns in Navarre in their continued absence.⁵⁹

Even after Catalina and Jean received a formal coronation in Pamplona in 1494, Magdalena continued to sign charters jointly with the ruling couple and, significantly, she often came first in the address clause.⁶⁰ This clearly demonstrates that although the young couple had reached the age of majority and been formally crowned, Magdalena continued to be closely involved with the rule of the kingdom. It appears that only Magdalena's death in January 1495 truly solidified Catalina and Jean's position as ruling sovereigns.⁶¹

Catalina's father-in-law Alain d'Albret also made his presence felt, involving himself in matters foreign and domestic. Adot Lerga asserts that "from the moment of their marriage, Alain de Albret directed the greater part of Navarrese politics, involving the young sovereigns in his own political projects."⁶² Zurita commented that "in the affairs of Navarre, the king Jean d'Albret went for the good governance of his father" who advised his son that they needed to get the Beaumont faction on their side.⁶³ The Beaumont clan had been Leonor's fiercest opponents as they favored France and opposed Juan of Aragon's rule, and the installation of Leonor as his lieutenant. However, now that the crown was held by French magnates, the Beaumonts were theoretically more amenable to their authority. The young sovereigns drafted an accord with the Beaumonts in 1485, although this turned out to be only a temporary alliance, and the couple continued to have troubled relations with the Beaumonts over the entirety of their reign.⁶⁴

Alain became more directly involved with the affairs of Navarre when he was named governor and viceroy on behalf of the young couple, supplanting Catalina's uncle Jaime, on September 24, 1486.⁶⁵ Alain governed on the young couple's behalf, titling himself as "Governor of the Kingdom of Navarre for our most beloved children Lord Jean and Lady Catalina."⁶⁶ However, he did consult with the young sovereigns; one example is a document from 1489 addressed to the couple as "most high and excellent princes and most powerful kings and lords," which asked for permission to compensate clerical staff with royal possessions as they were having difficulty paying their salaries.⁶⁷

Alain was also involved in brokering an alliance for his son and daughter-in-law with Isabel and Ferdinand in Valencia in March 1488.⁶⁸ Relations with Isabel and Ferdinand had been cool since the suit of their son was rejected in 1484, and they had been

taking any Navarrese territory that would easily fall into their grasp. The town and fortress of Lumbier is one such example which the Ayanz family gave over to the *Reyes Católicos* for 4,000 *doublas* and some jewelry including a “large ruby, in a box” in 1486.⁶⁹ The address clause of the Treaty of Valencia placed Alain and Magdalena in front of their children and demonstrates the continued dominance of Catalina and Jean’s parents”

Alain, lord of Albret, count of Dreux, of Gaura, of Pontievre and Perigord, viscount of Limoges and of Tartas and Captal de Buch and lord of Danuenas in Hainault. For the illustrious lady Magdalena, Princess of Viana and the most illustrious lords Jean and lady Catalina king and queen of Navarre their children.⁷⁰

This treaty set up a mutual defensive alliance between the two realms, which benefitted both parties; it allowed Ferdinand and Isabel to continue their protectorate of Navarre and gave Catalina and her husband the support they needed to stabilize the continuing unrest in Navarre and facilitate their delayed coronation.⁷¹

However, Alain was not in Valencia purely to help improve the Navarrese situation. Alain was keen to enlist the support of Isabel and Ferdinand for his own ambitions and was in need of their political and financial support for the insurrection of the Breton faction against the French regent. Moret suggests that Alain’s primary motive was in fact the situation in Brittany, and that while visiting the Spanish monarchs he would also seek their help with regard to Navarre.⁷² Ferdinand and Isabel’s support would also help Alain’s pursuit of the Breton heiress, Anne, who was Catalina’s first cousin.⁷³

Alain’s visit to Valencia was successful in procuring support from the Spanish sovereigns; moreover, documentary evidence shows their continuing interest in the Breton affair.⁷⁴ One letter from Alain to Isabel and Ferdinand demonstrates how he continued to mix his own political goals with those of Navarre. The letter begins with an update on the current situation in Brittany and ends with a plea to help his son and daughter-in-law:

Very high, powerful and excellent princes, I know that the king and queen of Navarre have sent their Procurator General to your highnesses on the affairs of the said kingdom, I beg that it pleases you to hold them always in your hand to the end that the said kingdom may live in peace.⁷⁵

However, Alain's actions could also damage Navarrese relations with France and Spain, particularly in the years after Catalina and Jean reached age of majority and independent governance. By 1503, Alain was once again firmly allied to the French crown, and relations between France and Spain had become decidedly hostile. On hearing that Alain was leading a French army to Spain, Ferdinand issued instructions to his ambassador to Navarre, asking him to convey to Catalina and Jean that

the French have advertised that the Lord of Albret is coming with men and as he is attributed to be their father, they will not refuse him and the men of the King of France entry into Navarre; even though I know for certain that the king and queen, my cousins, will keep entirely to that which we have agreed.⁷⁶

Later on, as the crisis point approached in early 1512, Alain's interests and actions were once again in conflict with the Navarrese monarchs. Moret comments that

at this point our King was too good a son just as Alain was too poor a father as usual... he saw mainly his own interests which should have been inseparable from those of his son, although they were often very contrary.⁷⁷

The situations of both Juana I and Catalina highlight the difficulties in regencies, both in having the realm administered by foreigners and in the struggle to disengage parental influence once the queens had reached their majority age. Even after both women were established as fully grown adults, the legacy of their regency periods hindered their ability to fully and effectively exercise power. In Juana's case, she was never able to truly exercise her royal authority in Navarre as the realm was administered primarily by governors who were working under her future father-in-law's and later her husband's instructions. Catalina was able to exercise authority in tandem with her husband after her mother's death, but her reign was hindered by wider political circumstances and the internal unrest that she inherited from her predecessors' rule as well as the decisions made and actions taken by her mother and father-in-law. Therefore, in both cases it can be argued that minority rule had a negative effect on the ability of these two queens to rule effectively and ultimately had a negative impact on the realm itself.

Relations with the Reyes Católicos: Family Ties That Bind

Two reigning Queens of Navarre, Leonor and Catalina, were contemporaries of one of the most famous medieval queens regnant, Isabel of Castile. The connection between these queens was very close on two counts; Isabel was the sovereign of the neighboring realm of Castile, and she was also a close relative of both of the Navarrese queens through blood and marriage.

Isabel came to the throne of Castile in 1474, when Leonor was serving as lieutenant for her father as the heir apparent of Navarre. Although both women were cousins through the house of Trastámara, their familial relationship became even closer when Isabel married Leonor's half-brother, Ferdinand of Aragon. Their marriage ultimately united Castile and Aragon, increasing the pressure on Navarre as one of the few areas in Iberia that was not subject to the rule of Isabel and Ferdinand. They used their familial connection as a pretext to interfere in Navarre, setting up the infamous protectorate during Leonor's lieutenancy that effectively endured until the Pyrenean realm was finally annexed by Castile in 1512.⁷⁸

Isabel and Ferdinand also attempted to strengthen the political and familial connections between themselves and Navarre through marital alliances. Luis Suárez Fernández has argued that a marriage with Navarre was a key part of Isabel and Ferdinand's overall foreign policy plan to build a triple alliance between England, Spain and Flanders and deny France the opportunity to gain control of Brittany and Navarre.⁷⁹ Overall, they made five major attempts to forge a marital bond with Navarre, although none of them came to fruition. As discussed earlier, the negotiations for a marriage between Francisco Fébo and their daughter Juana were unsuccessful as was their attempt to procure Catalina as a bride for their son Juan in 1484. Isabel and Ferdinand tried again with Catalina's children and signed three different marital pacts between 1494 and 1504, but none of these matches ultimately came to fruition.

The first of these marital agreements was for a betrothal between Catalina's eldest child and current heiress, Ana, and the Infante Juan or one of his cousins, which was signed shortly after the Albrets arrived for their Navarrese coronation in 1494.⁸⁰ In the agreement it was firmly stipulated that Ana's parents could not consent to any other betrothal without the express consent of the *Reyes Católicos*.⁸¹ The Navarrese monarchs were dependent on the support of their

Iberian neighbors in order to maintain the peace and security of their realm and were willing risk incurring the wrath of their French overlord by pledging their eldest daughter and heiress in a marital agreement with his Iberian rivals. Ferdinand and Isabel's desire to build a binding martial alliance stemmed from their own need to ensure that the Pyrenean passes were closed to the French given the ongoing dispute over the Franco-Aragonese frontier at Perpignan and the constant threat of outright war with France.⁸²

The alliance between the Spanish monarchs and the Navarrese was reinforced by another treaty signed March 4, 1495, at Pamplona. While this treaty did not contain a proposed marriage, it did contain a significant clause that required Catalina and Jean to "hand over the lady Infanta Magdalena, their daughter, to the power of the said King and Queen of Castile... for their highnesses to hold in their power for five years... for the security of what it is contained in this writing [treaty]."⁸³ Although it was not unusual to require hostages for the surety of treaties, this particular clause appears to be quite severe when the age of the princess, who was barely a year old, is taken into consideration.⁸⁴ However, this also reinforced the family bonds between the two royal couples, as Isabel and Ferdinand would be serving as surrogate parents for Catalina's young daughter.⁸⁵ Tragically, the princess was never returned to her parents in Navarre and died in Castile in 1504, although it is unclear whether the princess remained in Castile due to a need to ensure that the Navarrese adhered to the terms of their mutual treaties or whether it was agreed that she should remain with the *Reyes Católicos* for other reasons.⁸⁶ Given that Magdalena had grown up in the Castilian court and that the Queen of Navarre had given birth to several other children over the decade, it may have been decided that it was better for the princess to remain in Castile as a living bond between the two royal families.

The projected marriage for the Infanta Ana failed to come to fruition. In 1496, Catalina gave birth to a son, Jean. Even though he died in infancy, the fact that Ana had lost her place as heiress may have encouraged Ferdinand and Isabel to look elsewhere for a wife for their son. The Infante Juan eventually married Margaret of Austria in 1497 but died shortly thereafter. Ana was then promised to Gaston, the son of Jean of Narbonne who had contested Catalina's accession to the throne.⁸⁷ Although this might have served to unite two rival claimants and end the dispute regarding the Navarrese succession, this match failed to materialize probably due to a lack of consent

from the Spanish sovereigns. It also appears to have been unpopular with the Navarrese, particularly the citizens of Tudela, who had also preferred a Castilian match for the queen in 1483.⁸⁸ The failure of this marriage cost Catalina both the opportunity to permanently resolve the succession dispute with her uncle and possibly a financial penalty of 1,000 marks, which was stipulated in the marriage agreement if Ana married elsewhere.⁸⁹

However, Ferdinand and Isabel were still determined to persevere with a Navarrese marital alliance in order to bind the realms closer together. The Princess Ana was the subject of yet another marital treaty, signed on May 14, 1500.⁹⁰ This treaty was very open-ended; stipulating a marriage between the princess and one of Ferdinand and Isabel's grandsons. This flexibility was necessary as Catalina was in her childbearing years and continuing to give birth to children who may or may not survive to adulthood. Between 1496 and 1503, Catalina gave birth to three sons, although only one of these boys survived infancy.⁹¹ Given this fluid situation, the treaty recognized the possibility that Ana may or may not become the heir to the Navarrese throne. In addition, the treaty alluded to a possible match between any heir of Navarre with any of Ferdinand and Isabel's grandchildren who could in turn be their eventual heir.

Catalina gave birth to another son, Enrique, on April 25, 1503, at Sangüesa. Isabel of Castile promptly sent a warm letter of congratulations to Jean d'Albret that ended with "most illustrious king, our very dear and much loved cousin, may Our Lord be with you always and keep you in his special protection and favor."⁹² The arrival of a new heir corresponded with a new treaty to firm up the vague terms of the previous marital agreement. On March 17, 1504, a treaty of alliance was signed at Medina del Campo, which featured a marriage contract between Enrique of Navarre and their granddaughter Isabel, daughter of Juana of Castile and Philip of Flanders.⁹³ At this point both of the proposed spouses were infants, as Enrique was born in 1503 and Isabel in 1501. Although Enrique was listed as the "legitimate first-born [eldest] son and heir," this marriage was unlikely to lead to the union of Navarre with Castile and Aragon as Juana's heir was her son Charles, but it would still serve to bind the two kingdoms closer together and it met with the approval of the Cortes.⁹⁴ The marriage was meant to be celebrated when the prince reached the age of fourteen, in 1518. However, the marriage did not take place, probably as it became both redundant to Ferdinand and unpalatable to the Navarrese monarchs after the annexation in 1512. Moret notes that

part of the agreements made when the Navarrese monarchs allied with France in 1512 was a proposed marriage between Enrique and the younger daughter of Louis XII, Renée of France.⁹⁵ However, this marriage also failed to come to fruition, although Enrique later married another French princess, Marguerite, the sister of François I.⁹⁶

It is important to note that no further attempts to build a marital alliance with Navarre were made after Isabel's death in 1504. This may be because the proposed match between Enrique of Navarre and their granddaughter Isabel was still considered valid at least until 1510. However, it can be argued that the death of Isabel of Castile negatively effected relations with Navarre and altered the diplomatic strategy of her widower Ferdinand. Historians such as Bonney, Elliott, and Hillgarth have argued that Ferdinand had a long-standing ambition to rule Navarre, both because it was a vulnerable access point for French troops into Iberia and also because it had previously been under the rule of his father, Juan II of Aragon.⁹⁷ It appears that Isabel restrained Ferdinand's ambition to annex the realm, preferring the notion of a protectorate combined with a marital alliance that would either bind the Pyrenean realm closer or provide for an eventual merger. After Isabel's death, Ferdinand married Germana of Foix, a rival claimant for Catalina's throne and relations between Navarre and Spain rapidly worsened, leading to the Annexation of 1512.

Moreover, Isabel had been keen to stress the family bond that already existed between the two queens regnant. As previously discussed, Isabel sent an effusive letter of congratulations on the birth of Catalina's son and acted as a surrogate mother to one of Catalina's daughters. In addition, there is evidence that Catalina and Isabel met face to face. The chronicler Moret recounted a "chance" meeting in the town of Alfaro between Catalina and the *Reyes Católicos* in 1494. According to Moret, it was merely a pleasant family reunion:

It is not known whether in this meeting they discussed anything other than personal matters concerning congratulations and reciprocal affection, as very close relatives. And that would suit our Queen because to involve herself in the business of State, that game would be very unequal for her.⁹⁸

The insinuation here is that Catalina was not up to the task of negotiating with Isabel and Ferdinand. However, there are two alternative ways of analyzing this particular anecdote. One is to assume that Moret's comments are reflective of the era that he was writing

in, when it was assumed that women would naturally be reluctant to put themselves forward in diplomatic negotiations. Another possibility is to focus on the last sentence; Catalina would be literally unequal to her Spanish cousins in negotiations as there were two of them, and they were experienced and far more powerful sovereigns, whereas she had only just reached the age of majority and had recently begun to effectively exercise authority after the death of her mother. Taken this way, it could almost be seen as a clever tactic on Catalina's part to keep the meeting as a comfortable family reunion. It is also important to note that informal diplomatic negotiations may have taken place, even if there is no surviving evidence from this particular meeting.

It is conceivable that this meeting may have influenced the treaty of 1495, which called for the surrender of the young princess Magdalena. Catalina had recently given birth to her daughter, and this would have been the subject of the "congratulations" discussed by Moret. It is even possible, if the infant was traveling with her mother, that Isabel may have seen the baby and formed some attachment to her. Certainly it may have been the reason that they asked for Magdalena and not Ana as security. It would have been more logical to ask for Ana, as it was a fairly common practice for a fiancée to live in the court of her betrothed, although Catalina may have hesitated to give up her eldest daughter, who was also her heirress.⁹⁹

As contemporary female sovereigns, it was inevitable that comparisons be drawn between Isabel and Catalina. Moret held Isabel up as an exemplar of effective female rule and insinuated that if Catalina had been able to rule as strongly as Isabel did, the fate of Navarre may have been different:

If the Queen was the reigning sovereign of all her dominions and could have ruled all of them with all authority, as at other times she did, in imitation of the Catholic Queen Lady Isabel, who with another king consort of a very different condition [or status], behaved as one knows in her kingdom of Castile.¹⁰⁰

It appears that Moret is criticizing Catalina here for not exercising her authority fully in all of her domains at all times. However, it also appears that Moret is equally blaming her consort. The question is how you translate the word *condición*, which can mean condition or can be alluding to status. If you choose the former possibility, it appears that Moret is suggesting that Jean lacked the qualities

needed to be an effective king consort. This tallies with the criticism leveled at Jean from several near-contemporary chronicles, which argue that Jean's Iberian subjects "despised him and held him in little esteem" due to his French style of rule and informal manners.¹⁰¹ Both French and Iberian chroniclers recognized that "governance in the French style is completely opposite to the Spanish," and that Jean's inability to adapt to meet the expectations of the Navarrese "greatly reduced his authority."¹⁰² Returning to the word *condición*, the alternate translation of the word as "status" might mean that Moret was suggesting that Catalina would have been better off married to another sovereign, as Isabel was. Either way, the comparison between Catalina and Jean and their cousins, rivals, and peers, Isabel and Ferdinand, is compelling.

Both women had to overcome a contested succession to order to gain their crown, but there is no doubt that Isabel was in a far stronger position in every other aspect. Although Isabel faced a myriad of internal and external political challenges, she was in a far stronger position than Catalina territorially. Finally, there is no doubt that Isabel's marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon was a major factor in her success as a monarch. Ferdinand was a crucial ally, bringing with him the Aragonese empire, his military skills, and his political ability to strengthen her own position. In contrast, Jean d'Albret was not as strong a marital ally for Catalina as Ferdinand was for Isabel, both in terms of the size of Jean's territorial contribution and also with regard to his personality, experience, and ability.

The relationship of Isabel of Castile and Catalina of Navarre clearly demonstrates the ways in which queens regnant can work together or in opposition to one another, particularly when there are strong familial and political connections. Although much of their relationship was driven by political factors, which might have been the same regardless of the gender of the monarchs, it is possible that the methods of negotiation reflect female influence. Isabel was not generally adverse to aggressive, military efforts as her conquest of Granada clearly demonstrates. However, in the case of a kingdom that was ruled by her young cousin Catalina, Isabel appears to have chosen a strategy that emphasized familial affection and marital alliances, and this ultimately offered some protection to Navarre from outright annexation. Isabel's death was the tipping point when this strategy was effectively abandoned, and relations between Navarre and its Iberian neighbors grew decidedly worse.

Joint Rule

Although Catalina and Jean's joint rule technically commenced with their wedding in 1484, as discussed previously, the pair only began to exercise sovereign authority truly with their coronation in Navarre in 1494 and Magdalena of France's death the following year. Both Catalina and Jean participated fully and equally in the ceremony and were raised aloft by their subjects in accordance with the traditional Navarrese ceremony with two sets of coronation regalia although there was only one sword, which was borne by Jean.¹⁰⁴

The coronation agreements for Catalina and Jean d'Albret in 1494 reflect both the earlier example of the document written at the accession of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux and the reign of Juan of Aragon that formed a negative precedent.¹⁰⁵ Once again it was clearly noted that Jean was the consort of the sovereign and a foreigner who "has come to this kingdom of Navarre in the right and cause of the Queen Catalina, our wife." The document discussed the succession in great detail, specifically noting the right of daughters to succeed, which was important as the queen had only produced two girls at that point. The widowhood and possible remarriage of both of the royal spouses was also considered in depth. It was noted that "Queen Catherine would always remain queen, during widowhood or if she remarried."¹⁰⁶ However, the situation of the king consort needed more definition, particularly after the precedent of Juan of Aragon.

As with the consorts of Juana II and Blanca I, Jean was specifically barred from the succession if the queen died without heirs, as the Cortes retained the right to appoint a successor in this situation. Catalina's coronation agreement sought to clarify Jean's role as a widower, given the disastrous consequences of the prolonged rule of Juan of Aragon after the death of Blanca II, which was made possible by the vague provisions for the queen's death with heirs in their marital agreement and his exploitation of the codicil from his wife's will. The Cortes returned to the precedent of Juana II's coronation agreement and specified that the widowed king consort could continue to rule as regent for the heir, governing in tandem with the Cortes, until the heir reached the age of 21. It was also clearly stipulated that Jean d'Albret had to agree to give up the post of regent and leave the realm immediately if he remarried after the queen's death.

The evidence from Catalina and Jean's reign clearly demonstrates an equitable partnership that fits into the "Team Players" category, with both spouses involved in most aspects of governance and rule

in a similar manner to Juana II and Philip d'Evreux. Both couples had to manage a territorial amalgamation of French territories and their Iberian kingdom. Although Catalina and Jean's territory was far more geographically unified than their predecessors' holdings, it was a politically and culturally diverse collection, and Catalina's rule was not fully supported by all of her vassals.

Catalina and Jean's equitable distribution of power and duties may have simply been a practical arrangement given the large territorial area that the couple were responsible for. The contrast in rank may have also played a factor as the queen's decidedly superior standing may have prevented her husband, the son of a Lord and Viscount, from attempting to push her aside. Personality may have also played a part; Jean may have welcomed Catalina's participation in the governance of their territories, as according to one contemporary source Jean "often left governance to others so he could give himself to all pleasures and entertainments."¹⁰⁷

With regard to the documentary evidence of their reign, there are examples of both Jean and Catalina issuing charters, letters, and instructions separately and jointly. Catalina's involvement in diplomatic matters can be seen in letters, such as a lengthy missive to the Prior of Roncevalles with instructions on how to inform the Cortes about a proposed marriage for her daughter Ana with the son of Jean of Narbonne.¹⁰⁸

Jean also demonstrated some independent agency in diplomatic matters in a letter sent to Isabel and Ferdinand on September 6, 1497, regarding Castilian troops on their mutual frontier.¹⁰⁹ This fairly brief missive has no formal address clause and is signed by Jean as "the King of Navarre, your obedient cousin Jean."¹¹⁰ However, he does refer to Catalina in the letter as "the queen, your cousin, my most dear and beloved wife" and noted the agreement that she was presently drafting with her uncle.¹¹¹

This agreement between Catalina and her uncle Jean of Narbonne was the aforementioned Treaty of Tarbes, dated September 7, 1497.¹¹² This document made no mention of her husband; rather it is an agreement between Catalina as "the very excellent and powerful lady, Catherine of Foix, Queen of Navarre" and her uncle, which was intended to end the long-running and damaging dispute regarding her rights to the patrimony of Foix and the crown of Navarre. It was appropriate that this document emanated from her as it directly concerned her hereditary rights, but it is also important to note her sole agency in this crucial dispute.

The concurrent dating of the letter, sent by Jean from Pamplona to the *Reyes Católicos*, and the treaty Catalina was drafting at Tarbes in their French territories is significant. This clearly shows the ability of the couple to share out duties, divide up the governance of different territories, and attend to pressing matters independently as necessary in order to administer their many holdings.

Their activities as patrons also demonstrate their propensity to act both jointly and individually. On a joint basis, Catalina and Jean d'Albret followed the family tradition of founding chapels with an addition to the cathedral in Pamplona dedicated to the memory of the queen's mother, Magdalena.¹¹³ Catalina and Jean also gave the Augustinians a parcel of land outside the city walls of Pamplona for the construction of a new convent and church in 1498.¹¹⁴

However, their relationship with the monastery of La Oliva demonstrates both individual and joint action. La Oliva is a Cistercian monastery, founded in the twelfth century with a long history of royal patronage located near the town of Carcastillo, in close proximity to the border with Aragon. Between the years of 1486 and 1503, Jean and Catalina sent several charters that have been preserved in the monastery's archive, which granted and confirmed privileges and resolved disputes between the monastery and its neighbors. Initially the charters issued between 1486 and 1494 were made jointly; however, Jean issued two sole charters in 1495 and 1497.¹¹⁵ Two more joint charters followed, but from August 1499 the remaining charters were all issued by Catalina alone.¹¹⁶

Catalina was also a generous patron to the Cathedral of Pamplona; an inventory compiled during her reign notes her donation of several costly items to the cathedral including a gold crown, two richly decorated mantles, an altar cloth, and adornments for the statue of the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁷ While this appears to be evidence of the queen's individual patronage, Adot Lerga notes that one of the royal couple's most significant projects during their reign was an attempt to reorganize the ecclesiastical structure of their realms to create a unified trans-Pyrenean benefice under the Archbishop of Pamplona.¹¹⁸ This in itself was a controversial and considerable project that entailed separating Navarre from the Archbishopric of Zaragoza and creating three new Navarrese bishoprics at Estella, Tudela, and Sangüesa.¹¹⁹

The outward projection of their joint rule, on their coinage and cartulary, also mirror this combination of unified and individual action. Catalina and Jean minted double-portrait coins during their reign that were strikingly similar to those of their contemporaries

and cousins Ferdinand and Isabel.¹²⁰ Stahl claims that in the case of Isabel and Ferdinand, the double portrait reflected the fact that both were sovereigns in their own right.¹²¹ However, the same cannot be said for Catalina and Jean as she had the sole right to the crown, and Jean had not yet inherited the Albret holdings. Catalina and Jean may have chosen to emulate the model of their cousins either to flatter Isabel and Ferdinand or because they too wished to project the image of a unified and equitable royal couple. However, it is important to note that, like Juana I's coins, Catalina's Béarnaise coinage carried only her name, even though her Navarrese coins had the names of both spouses.¹²²

There is evidence that the couple possessed several different seals, both joint and individual. Their joint seal featured a heraldic shield surmounted by a crown that displayed all of their territorial holdings and family connections.¹²³ It is interesting to note that Catalina's large individual seal was slightly bigger than her husband's, reflecting her greater authority as the natural sovereign, although both also possessed smaller individual seals of a similar size.¹²⁴

Alvaro Adot Lerga conducted a detailed study of the couple's documents in a useful database that forms both part of his monograph and was published as a journal article in *Príncipe de Viana*.¹²⁵ This information can be used, as Adot Lerga has, to track the couple's movements and their presence in their various territorial capitals. It can also be used to show the signatory of the documents and assess the couple's involvement in administration and governance.

Jean began to sign documents from the moment of his marriage in June 1484. From their marriage until the autumn of 1496, almost every document contains both signatures, with the exception of two documents from September and October 1484, which were signed exclusively by Catalina at Pau. The couple's first major period of separation comes between October 1496 and late September 1497 as discussed earlier. During this time, it appears that Jean remained in Navarre while Catalina returned to their French territories, although he may have joined her briefly in Pau in May 1497. The Cortes wrote to the queen to express their discontent at her decision to leave Jean as a substitute ruler in Navarre while she returned to Pau. Catalina was forced to defend her absence, claiming that she was "continuing with great and arduous business in this our Lordship of Béarn and in our other Lordships and our lands... and this requires... our Royal presence here."¹²⁶

From September 1497 until April 1500, the couple appear to have remained together, barring a short period in November 1498, dividing

their time between Navarre and their French territory and signed almost all documents jointly. It is interesting to note that when the couple were not in Navarre, their young daughter Catalina was left as “lieutenant” for three brief periods between September 1499 and December 1500.¹²⁷ The year 1500 proved to be the high point of the couple’s reign. Moret declared:

Never had the kings Jean and Catalina been such kings as during this period. They enjoyed total quiet. They were generally respected by their vassals and well esteemed by foreign princes.¹²⁸

In the spring of 1500, Jean traveled alone to Castile, and accordingly, a series of documents are signed exclusively by him during this period. Catalina may not have joined him on this diplomatic mission for two reasons: one was the need for one of the sovereigns to remain physically present in their territories, and the other was an apparent pregnancy for the queen, which may have resulted in the birth and death of an unnamed son. While this diplomatic visit was important, it was crucial not to neglect the administration of their various territories. Favyn specifically notes in his description of Jean’s Castilian trip that “he had left the Queen Catalina his wife to govern the kingdom.”¹²⁹

In the winter and spring of 1502, Jean embarked on a visit to the French court, while Catalina remained in Pau. Again this shows a similar division of responsibilities; Jean left on a diplomatic errand abroad while Catalina administered the realm and supervised their growing brood of young children. The couple were reunited at the end of the year and returned to Navarre in January 1503 for a lengthy stay. The next significant period of separation came in the early months of 1508, when it appears that Catalina returned alone once more to Tarbes and Pau. By May 1508, the queen was once again in Navarre, where she gave birth to another son, Francisco. It seems likely that she returned to Pau alone again in June 1509, and again in the spring of 1510. After that, the couple remained together until the crisis point when the realm was annexed by Castile in the summer of 1512.

Although this evidence demonstrates that the couple were willing to separate in order to attend to the demands of administering their holdings, they remained together for the majority of their marriage and their reign in Navarre. Moreover, it appears that the couple had a reasonably equitable and comfortable balance of power in their

political relationship with both spouses participating fully and fairly equally in government. However, Catalina appears to have retained a more prominent role as appropriate to her position as the hereditary sovereign. This is demonstrated by her agency in matters such as the drafting of the Treaty of Tarbes and also in several interesting examples of letters exclusively between Ferdinand and Catalina.¹³⁰ Ferdinand's conscious choice to direct these letters solely to Catalina, with no mention of her husband, is an acknowledgment of her position as sovereign. Unlike Jean's individual letters that mention her as "the most serene queen, my most dear and beloved wife," Catalina does not refer to her husband in her letter to Ferdinand.¹³¹

On a personal level, there is also evidence from contemporary chroniclers that alludes to a degree of division in their relationship. A suggestion that the couple had divided opinions on major political matters comes from Favyn, who alleged that Jean d'Albret supported the Beaumont clan, while Catalina favored the Agramonts due to their allegiance to her grandmother during her lieutenancy.¹³² However, this is not necessarily reflected in their actions. The couple continued to have difficulties with the Beaumont clan throughout their reign, but this appears to be the result of the scheming ambition of the Count of Lerin, the leader of the faction, more than the product of the couple's split allegiance in the civil conflict.

An anecdote from Moret directly contradicts Favyn's suggestion regarding the couple's allegiances in the Agramont/Beaumont conflict. Moret relates the efforts of the queen to defuse the enmity between her husband and the Count of Lerin, the most powerful noble of the realm. According to Moret, Catalina conducted secret meetings with the count and provided him with a warning and a safe conduct in order to subvert a plan by her husband to attack the count. Even though this would appear to show that Catalina was working against her husband, Moret stresses:

It should not be tolerated what they attribute to the Queen, that she gave away important secrets to the Count, as it would be against her dignity, honor and interests which were inseparable from those of the King, her husband, who she greatly loved and respected.¹³³

On a more intimate level, there are some comments from contemporary chroniclers that suggest that Jean may not have been entirely faithful to his wife. Diego Ramirez de Avalos de la Piscina in his *Cronica de los muy excelentes Reyes de Navarra* comments that Jean "was

much given to the ladies,” while Gabriel Chappuys notes in *L’histoire du Royaume de Navarre* that Jean “was received by ladies and damsels in the manner of the country.”¹³⁴ In addition, Moret makes a brief comment about a possible illegitimate son of Jean d’Albret who was supposedly sired before his marriage. Moret certainly gives credence to this possibility and names the son as Pedro (or probably Pierre) d’Albret, later Bishop of Convenas and ambassador to the pope for a later Queen of Navarre, Jeanne III d’Albret.¹³⁵ While this evidence may indicate that Jean had extramarital affairs, the couple’s personal partnership also seems to have been fairly sound given their general preference for remaining in the same location and the large number of children that the queen bore.

In summary, by collecting all of this relevant evidence, it is possible to make an overall assessment of the couple’s personal and political partnership. Once the couple attained their full majority as anointed sovereigns and were freed by the death of the regent, they demonstrated that they were willing and able to exercise the royal authority jointly and equitably as “Team Players.” Although Catalina retained the ultimate authority as the natural sovereign, her husband ruled both by her side and as her surrogate when circumstances, such as her frequent pregnancies or pressing matters north of the Pyrenees, prevented her from being physically present in the realm. Their personal and political partnership appeared to be comfortable and fully functional, as they demonstrated an ability to work together effectively and also work independently when circumstances demanded their physical presence in different parts of their territorial holdings.

The Impact of the Reign and the Annexation of 1512

The Annexation of 1512 had an undeniably important and lasting impact on the realm, which is still controversial today. Any assessment of the Catalina and Jean d’Albret’s rule hinges on the Annexation in 1512, and accordingly they are remembered as unsuccessful monarchs. However, it is also possible to reinterpret the events of Catalina and Jean’s reign as a successful effort to retain the sovereignty of the realm for nearly thirty years in exceptionally challenging circumstances. The events of the annexation have been chronicled and analyzed many times in the last 500 years. The question here is whether the loss of the Iberian kingdom was the direct result of the royal couple’s actions and policies, or whether it was the result of a train of events and decisions that were made by their predecessors.

When attempting to assess where the blame, if such a word can be used, for the annexation lies, the logical place to begin is with the sovereigns themselves. Jean d'Albret has been the focus of much of the criticism leveled at the royal pair for the loss of their Iberian kingdom. While some of this critique may be unfair and derived in hindsight, overall it appears that Jean d'Albret may have been more of a liability than a help to Catalina. Although they worked together well personally and politically, his domains brought additional complications to her already unwieldy collection of territory. As discussed previously, Early Modern historians noted that Jean's ruling style was inappropriate and perhaps even offensive to Catalina's Navarrese subjects. However, Moret made multiple attempts to vindicate Jean and correct what he perceived to be inaccurate portrayals of him by other historians:

But what we cannot tolerate is the manifest injustice which some have made to the King Jean d'Albret, who have painted him as a man of reservations, of bad faith, of political reflections and of deadly vengeance, as it is certain that he was none of these, and that for the cause of these faults good politics and the public good were ordered (mostly when the kings and princes of his time would not play another game) so that he miserably lost his kingdom.¹³⁶

The King Jean d'Albret has been badly treated by historians ... who have attributed his failures to cowardice, but it is certain that he showed valor on many occasions, even though he lost everything from his too great kindness.¹³⁷

While Moret insists that Jean was not a coward, his military record was decidedly mixed, and he was unable to defend Navarre from the Castilian invasion or recoup its loss after 1512. Moreover, his decision to abandon Pamplona rather than remain and defend it has often been cited in as a key factor in its capitulation to the Castilian troops.¹³⁸ An account repeated by several early nineteenth-century writers demonstrates the lasting impression that Jean d'Albret was the cause of the annexation: "The impolitic conduct of Jean roused the indignation of Ferdinand of Arragon [*sic*], who took Pampeluna and several strong places, and obliged the king and queen to flee."¹³⁹ Indeed one of the most famous quotes ever attributed to Catalina expresses this sentiment that it was Jean d'Albret who was responsible for the loss of their kingdom: "Jean, if you had been born Catherine and I, Jean, we would never have lost Navarre."¹⁴⁰

There are fewer assessments of Catalina's behavior by contemporary or near-contemporary sources, and it is important to note that portrayals of the queen may have been tainted by a need to explain the annexation or be sympathetic to the exiled monarchs. Moreover, Catalina may have been portrayed in a more positive light due to her status as the natural sovereign in contrast to Jean d'Albret who was considered a foreigner and thus easier to blame. In contrast to Jean's apparent cowardice or lack of military ability, Catalina has been described as "stout of heart" and willing to fight on for her kingdom, but she was obliged to return to Pau after her husband fled.¹⁴¹ Moret described the queen as "very mature, [she] had great courage, prudence and magnanimity and always worked with all fidelity at the royal pledges to help the King, her husband, in the government as it ran to both their account."¹⁴²

Turning from the personalities of the royal pair, other evaluations of this period have focused on situational factors that contributed to the annexation more than the rule of the couple themselves. Rachel Bard has argued that the couple was not guilty of "deliberate negligence" but merely that they were distracted by their unwieldy collection of territory.¹⁴³ Adot Lerga agrees with this line of reasoning, arguing that given the difficulty of consolidating their rule in all of their territories and the political pressure on the monarchs from both sides of the Pyrenees, it would have been impossible for them not to lose some part of their French or Spanish patrimony.¹⁴⁴

Following this line of reasoning, it can be seen, particularly in the itinerary of the monarchs, that they attempted to travel around and between their French and Iberian territories in order to govern them effectively. Some historians, such as Béatrice Leroy, have criticized Catalina and Jean for not traveling around their domains enough. Although Leroy alleges that "Catherine and Jean made trips to Navarre from time to time, but as Viscounts of Béarn, spent the bulk of their time in Pau," the detailed itinerary compiled by Adot Lerga demonstrates that this was clearly not the case.¹⁴⁵ At times, Catalina and Jean were willing to separate in order to maintain the physical presence of one of the sovereigns and administer their territory personally. Anthony notes that Catalina "travelled incessantly around the interior of her domains" and describes the queen's team of secretaries that traveled with her to issue documents in the appropriate language, style, and dating system for each of her territories.¹⁴⁶

However, despite the couple's efforts to maintain contact with all of their diverse territories, it was only possible to be physically present

in a maximum of two places at a time, and there is evidence that the Cortes complained to the queen repeatedly about her absence from Navarre. In 1489, Catalina, Jean, and Magdalena drafted a joint response to the Cortes in order to explain their prolonged absence and their failure to journey to Pamplona to be crowned even though Catalina had assumed the title five years previously. They explained the need to remain in Béarn to counter the offensive of Jean de Narbonne and reassured the Cortes that although they appreciated the love of their subjects, for the time being they could not come to Navarre and felt confident that they could “take care of everything with our messengers.”¹⁴⁷ After 1495, when Catalina could not be physically present in Navarre, the queen deputized Jean or one of her children to serve as lieutenants to ensure that some member of the royal family was physically present in the realm to attempt to allay the concerns of the Cortes.

Overall it would appear that the source of the couple's problems was not that they were unable to rule effectively as a sovereign pair, or that they were unaware of the discontent caused by their absence, but the sheer size and diversity of the territorial amalgamation that had been formed through dynastic marital alliances made their task virtually impossible.

However, other historians, such as José María Jimeno Jurío, have stressed the difficulties of the wider political context as a factor in the annexation. Jimeno Jurío argues that although Catalina and Jean “struggled determinedly to maintain their neutrality” in the growing conflict between France and Spain, ultimately they were “incapable of keeping the kingdom free from the interference of the two great neighboring monarchies.”¹⁴⁸ Juan Carrasco Perez agreed with this line of reasoning, arguing that “the existence of this ‘blocking state’ over half of the Pyrenean range and between the two most important monarchies in Western Europe was hardly viable.”¹⁴⁹ The question here is whether they lacked the political skill necessary to survive in such a challenging international situation, as Jimeno Jurío seems to suggest, or whether wider developments sealed their fate.

Documentary evidence shows the couple's attempts to negotiate with both sides as the Italian Wars commenced and relations between France and Spain became increasingly hostile. Another factor was the changing stance of the papacy. In the early years of the couple's reign, they could count on the support of the pope as Catalina's sister-in-law, Charlotte d'Albret, married Cesare Borgia, son of the infamous Borgia Pope Alexander VI in May 1499.¹⁵⁰ This

marriage made Charlotte the Duchess of Valentinois and one of the most important women at the French court.¹⁵¹ It also gave the Navarrese queen a familial connection to the pope in addition to the family's many cardinals including Amanieu d'Albret, Catalina's brother-in-law.¹⁵² Cesare came to Navarre in 1506 and lent his formidable military prowess to help Catalina and her husband against the rebellious Beaumont faction.¹⁵³ Tragically, Cesare died during this campaign, killed outside the walls of Viana in 1507.¹⁵⁴

Alexander's death in 1503 and the end of the Borgia connection changed the relationship of the Navarrese monarchs with the papal throne. Julius II came to the throne in 1503 and was deeply involved in the intrigues of the Italian Wars. The Holy League was formed in 1511, which bound the pope to Ferdinand of Aragon and their allies Henry VIII of England and Venice against France, which had been placed under interdict by the pope. Once the Navarrese monarchs became the King of France's allies, they too were excommunicated by the pope, in a papal bull issued on February 18, 1513, just days before Julius II's death.¹⁵⁵

The many peace treaties and marital negotiations between Catalina and Jean and the Spanish sovereigns have already been noted, but it is also important to assess their negotiations with their French neighbors and relations. As discussed previously, there was some tension between the Navarrese monarchs and France over the succession dispute with Jean of Narbonne as well as Catalina and Jean's repeated treaties of alliance with Spain. Relations with the King of France fell to an all-time low when Catalina and Jean refused to do homage for their French territories and were sanctioned by the *Parlement* of Toulouse, which called for the confiscation of their French estates.¹⁵⁶ Only the death of Catalina's cousin and rival Gaston of Narbonne in early 1512 encouraged the French king to offer the Navarrese monarchs his support instead.¹⁵⁷ However, allying with the King of France would alienate the pope and the Holy League, giving Ferdinand further justification to press his wife's claim to Navarre. Catalina and Jean may have been wary of the King of France's support but may have felt that they had little option, given the increasing hostility and predatory intent of Ferdinand of Aragon. The near-contemporary Italian historian Guicciardini commented on Catalina and Jean's difficult position, "the ancient desire of the kings of Spain to occupy Navarre was well known, and therefore the King of Navarre chose to expose himself rather to uncertain dangers than accept a certain loss, hoping that help in cavalry and foot soldiers

promised by the King of France would not prove wanting.”¹⁵⁸ The result was the Treaty of Blois signed on July 17, 1512, which declared the Navarrese monarchs “true and loyal peace, union, affection, confederation and alliance” with France and was immediately followed by the invasion of Navarre by Castilian troops only days later.¹⁵⁹

The question is whether this treaty demonstrates a lack of political judgment on the part of Catalina and Jean, which had devastating consequences, or whether it was an adept move to attempt to secure a powerful ally when the Castilian and English armies were already closing in on their territories. Ultimately, the annexation of the realm by Castile had been on the cards since before the beginning of Catalina’s reign. The realm had been thoroughly damaged and destabilized from the wars that Juan of Aragon created with Castile and within Navarre itself from the conflict engendered by his refusal to cede the Navarrese crown to his son, the Principe de Viana. The Castilian protectorate forced on Leonor by Ferdinand in 1476 was another step toward union. The aggressive suit of Isabel and Ferdinand to marry their son and heir to Catalina would have resulted in the union of the two realms much earlier. In fact Antonio de Nebrija, who chronicled the events of the annexation, commented that “the last of the kings of Navarre returned to the Spanish the kingdom that they should have received as a dowry.”¹⁶⁰ Clearly, there were a number of contributing factors that fueled the process; the difficulties in managing an unwieldy territorial bloc perched between two rival powers, the contested claim to the throne of Navarre from Gaston and Germana de Foix, which Catalina and Jean’s enemies used against them and the changing political scenario around Navarre, which was intertwined with the development of the Italian Wars. While Catalina and Jean might have ruled their territory more effectively or made different political decisions, ultimately they inherited a difficult situation and the wider political circumstances were far beyond their control.

Epilogue: A Kingdom Lost, a Legacy Gained

Catalina and Jean were not content to remain north of the Pyrenees and made the recuperation of Navarre the focus of their remaining years. They needed the help of the King of France, who reassured them that “I have next to my heart the recovery of your kingdom.”¹⁶¹ With aid from France, Jean was able to launch a campaign in September 1512 with 15,000 soldiers in an attempt to retake the

kingdom.¹⁶² This attempt was unsuccessful, and Catalina and Jean's position was further compromised by the papal bull that excommunicated them in February 1513.¹⁶³ However, the death of Ferdinand of Aragon in January 1516 created another opportunity for the Navarrese monarchs, and they immediately attempted another invasion, which was repulsed by the regent, Cardinal Cisneros. Jean died shortly after the failure of this invasion on June 17, 1516. Catalina died eight months later on February 12, 1517, and was buried at Lescar. Their son and heir, Enrique II, took up their ambition to reclaim the realm, and a last military campaign was made with the help of François I of France in 1521. Although this campaign was able to temporarily recapture some Navarrese cities and lay siege to Pamplona, the loss of the Battle of Noain on June 30, 1521, dealt a fatal blow to the hopes of the Albret king, and by the end of the summer the Castilians had regained complete control of the realm.

Catalina and Jean had a large family to potentially use in marital negotiations to build alliances to help in their quest to retake the kingdom. In total, Catalina gave birth to thirteen children, and the majority of these children survived until adulthood; however, few of her children married, and those who did wed, did so after Catalina's death. The negotiations for marriages between Catalina's eldest children and the relatives of Isabel and Ferdinand have already been discussed. Finding husbands for Catalina's daughters proved somewhat difficult, especially as their relative worth on the marriage market had taken a blow with the loss of their Iberian kingdom. There was a projected marriage for one of Catalina's daughters with Lorenzo de Medici, grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, which was discussed in a number of letters of Cardinal Julio de Medici (later Pope Clement VII).¹⁶⁴ However this marriage failed to come to fruition, and Lorenzo later married Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne and sired Catherine de Medici. Other Italian matches that failed to come to fruition include potential connections with Hercules d'Este and Francisco Sforza of Milan.¹⁶⁵ These Italian marriages reflect the wider political struggle between France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire to control and dominate the Italian peninsula.¹⁶⁶ Once again, as in the case of Juana II and Gaston and Leonor, these matches are a case of marital diplomacy being employed in order to help their French overlords achieve their own political goals. However, just as in the earlier cases, these marriages would also further Navarre's influence and possibly bring influential supporters who might have helped the queen regain her lost throne.

A marital contract was signed for Princess Catalina with Ernest of Brunswick on March 7, 1521, but the betrothal was broken on August 1, 1527, and Ernest later married a German bride in 1533.¹⁶⁷ Catalina eventually became the abbess of the Abbey of the Trinity in Caen, and her sister Quiteria also became an abbess at Montvilliers. Another betrothal for Catalina's eldest daughter, Ana, with the Count of Candale was formally revoked on February 7, 1531, possibly on the grounds of the bride's ill health.¹⁶⁸ Anthony describes Ana as

afflicted by miserable health... scrawny, hunchbacked and of a ridiculously small size, however she was an intelligent woman who valiantly took on the weight of administration during her brother's prolonged visits to the French court.¹⁶⁹

However, some of Catalina's children contracted beneficial marriages. Catalina's heir, Enrique II, married Marguerite, sister of François I of France, in 1527. This marriage gave Enrique a powerful supporter in his quest to regain the lost Iberian kingdom, although this support did not ultimately help Enrique achieve his goal. The youngest daughter, Isabel, married Rene I, Viscount of Rohan, in 1534. It is possible that Enrique's prestigious marriage gave his youngest sister more value as a potential bride and allowed her to successfully contract a marriage when her elder sisters had failed to do so.

Enrique's marriage and offspring became the key to the dynasty's legacy. Enrique attempted to orchestrate a marriage for his daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, with Philip of Spain, son of Charles V.¹⁷⁰ While this may not have restored the full sovereignty of Navarre, it would have allowed the Albret dynasty to return to Pamplona and rule the kingdom if only as a part of the wider Spanish amalgamation. Jeanne's uncle, François I of France, opposed the idea of the Spanish marriage and forced her into a wedding with the Duke of Cleves in 1541.¹⁷¹ This marriage was later annulled, and Jeanne married again in 1548 to Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme. Their son, Henri de Navarre, became not only the heir to the Albret dominions and the Navarrese title but a strong claimant to the French throne through both his maternal and paternal bloodlines. The deaths of all four sons of Henri II and Catherine de Medici without issue opened the way for Henri of Navarre to become King of France in 1589.¹⁷² Henri IV was the first King of the Bourbon dynasty, which ultimately ruled both France and Spain when Louis XIV's grandson, Philip V, became the King of Spain in 1701.

It is ironic perhaps that the descendants of the kings and queens of Navarre ultimately obtained the French crown, which had been denied to Juana II in 1316, and regained not only Navarre but Aragon and Castile as well when Philip V ascended the Spanish throne. Even more ironic was the fact that the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain imported Salic Law not only into Spain, but into Navarre as well from 1713 until it was publicly repealed in 1830, clearing the way for the accession of Isabel II of Spain.¹⁷³

On a final note, it is interesting that the current Spanish constitution contains very specific provisions for the role of a king consort stating clearly that “when a woman rules, the Prince Consort will take no part in the governance of the kingdom.”¹⁷⁴ Article 58 has widened this to elaborate on the roles of both: “The queen consort or the consort of the Queen.”¹⁷⁵ While the reigns of the Navarrese queens may have served as part of the justification for repealing Salic Law and allowing women to rule Spain again, it is also possible that problems created by their kings consort, such as Philip IV of France, Juan of Aragon, and Jean d’Albret, may have inspired the clause that now prohibits a king consort from taking part in the rule of Spain today.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to provide an analysis of the political careers and partnerships of the reigning queens of Navarre, highlighting the importance of these female rulers and their medieval kingdom and their significant role in contemporary events, which has been all too often overlooked. These women were active rulers, who dealt with challenging situations both in terms of the complex politics of their geographical and temporal context and with regard to the difficulties inherent in female rule itself. William Monter, in his recent work *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe*, summarized the reigns of the Navarrese queens with a simplistic overview that he termed “the Navarrese solution to female inheritance.”¹ He argued that their situation was that of young heiresses “married as quickly as possible to a suitable prince in hopes of producing a male heir,” who then let their husbands take the responsibility for ruling the realm even if they had been jointly crowned as rulers. This survey has demonstrated that while there are some similarities between the lives of these five queens, Monter’s evaluation does not effectively summarize their diverse situations nor recognize the queens’ agency in their realm as genuine sovereigns, not female figureheads.

By evaluating and comparing the reigns of all of its female sovereigns, key areas of continuity and change can be seen. With regard to succession, it has been demonstrated that in spite of the crucial enabling factors, such as legal and customary acceptance and precedent for female succession in Navarre, all of the queens, with the notable exception of Blanca I, had a difficult time asserting their claim to the throne. Their gender was arguably one of the disadvantages that they possessed as claimants; while this was mitigated to a large extent by the legal framework in Navarre, which specifically permitted female succession, in France gender became a defining element of eligibility for the throne after the failed accession of Juana II. Another difficulty to be faced was youth, as three of the queens

came to the throne in their minority years. Whether a child ruler is male or female, minority succession is invariably problematic, and the reigns of Juana I, II, and Catalina were no exception. The authority of all three women was strongly contested by male claimants, some of whom were closely related, such as Juana II's uncles, Philip and Charles, who both usurped her place in the French and Navarrese successions, and Catalina's uncle, Jean de Narbonne, who unsuccessfully challenged her position. Juana I received both challenges and support from her relatives; her Iberian cousins sought to annex her realm through both diplomacy and warfare, while her French relatives protected her and helped her retain her throne. Although most of the Navarrese heiresses were ultimately successful in attaining the throne in spite of these challenges to their rule, one claimant, Blanca II, failed completely to claim her birthright and ultimately lost her life in a succession struggle with her younger sister. In contrast, her successful mother, Blanca I, had every possible factor in her favor as a fully grown woman with children to provide dynastic continuity, a proven ruler with considerable experience in both Sicily and Navarre, and the formally acknowledged heir with no male claimant who could reasonably supplant her.

Another factor that each of the queens of Navarre shared was that they were all married to foreigners who held substantial territories of their own. These marriages brought important political alliances, and the addition of this territory expanded the physical size of the realm. Ultimately, however, these marriages compromised the kingdom's sovereignty and the ability of the monarchical pair to concentrate solely on a course of action that would have the greatest benefit to Navarre. Juana I's marriage brought Navarre into union with France, which led to a prolonged period of absentee rule and an uncomfortable merger with Navarre as the subsidiary partner. Juana II and Philip d'Evreux found it difficult to maintain a presence in Navarre and continue to manage his patrimony given the considerable distance between the two sets of territories. The remaining queens, Blanca, Leonor, and Catalina, were all married to men whose territory was either contiguous or in close proximity to Navarre. However, in Blanca's case, Juan's inheritance led to war with their neighbor, Castile, while Leonor and Catalina's marriages created a Pyrenean block that had a politically challenging existence between two rival powers.

The exploration of partnership and rule with the kings consort highlighted three modes of power sharing, which each potentially

allowed for successful administration and harmonious partnership. These examples of power-sharing strategies for sovereign pairs are significant for an overall examination of female rule. Although it was certainly possible for a female sovereign to be completely overshadowed by her husband and excluded from the rule of the realm, the fact that she had the hereditary right to the kingdom gave a queen regnant some leverage to exercising authority. In the cases examined in this study, the addition of the consort's territory, which was often located at a considerable distance from the Navarrese capital, made it more difficult for one spouse to govern alone without the help of the other, or alternatively a designated representative. With the possible exception of Juana I and Philip of France, most of the couples in this study made use of the abilities of both partners in order to manage their diverse collection of territorial holdings. It should be acknowledged that they also employed governors or familial deputies where necessary or in cases where both spouses needed to be absent from a particular territory.

The partnership modes developed by these royal couples enabled the queens to jointly administer both Navarre and the territories of the king consort. The majority of the queens in this study governed as a "Team Player" mode with their husband or chose to "Divide and Conquer" in order to effectively govern as a monarchical pair. The exception is the reign of Juana I and Philip IV of France whose "His Way" dynamic reflected the dominance of Philip and France in their political partnership.

Juana II and Philip d'Evreux were seen as effectual rulers, and a key factor in their successful reign was their ability to work together and to divide up duties or give one partner primary responsibility on a particular project or area of administration, making them examples of the "Team Player" mode of partnership. They were also able to separate when necessary, and even administer the other partner's patrimony when needed, for example, when Philip d'Evreux returned to Navarre en route to participating in the Iberian Crusade, while Juana II governed their territories in Northern France. Catalina and Jean d'Albret also functioned in a similar manner, working together and separating in order to maintain a presence in different areas of their territorial amalgamation and attend to the needs of their Iberian or French subjects. However, while both couples had a strong and effective style of partnership, this did not guarantee them a successful reign. Juana II and Philip d'Evreux were hailed as excellent rulers as the king and queen who returned to the kingdom after a long period

of absence, whereas Catalina and Jean have been held up as the monarchs responsible for the annexation of Navarre to Castile in 1512.

Both Blanca and Juan of Aragon and their daughter Leonor and her husband, Gaston of Foix, used the “Divide and Conquer” method. In both cases, this allowed the female heiress to govern Navarre while her husband was able to pursue his own political agenda and administer his own territory. However, the major difference between these couples is that while Leonor and Gaston were unified by a shared ambition to ensure that they and their offspring would rule Navarre, Blanca and Juan had contradictory political objectives; he made war upon Castile in an attempt to dominate Castilian and Iberian politics, while Blanca worked tirelessly to protect her realm and make peace with her neighbors.

These two modes do share some similarities; in both cases, the couples were able to work together and separately, particularly in the “Team Player” scenario. However, the “Divide and Conquer” mode entailed a more concrete division of duties and distinct spheres of influence either because of divergent political goals or due to the need to physically separate for the majority of the time in order to govern their territories effectively. It should also be noted that the women had the most access to power and governance in the “Divide and Conquer” scheme as it gave them the ability to act with the greatest degree of independence and autonomy. Although the circumstances of the Navarrese queens were somewhat unique in terms of the amalgamations of territories that they governed with their consorts, these three models can serve as a means of analysis or comparison to evaluate the power-sharing dynamic of other monarchs and their consorts.

The Impact of Female Rule on Navarre

A final aim of this study is to assess the impact of the queens’ rule and explore the connection between female rule and the sovereignty of the realm. Although it can clearly be seen that female rule was a factor in the eventual annexation of the realm, it can also be argued that the reigns of the queens also helped the realm to remain sovereign throughout the Middle Ages, in challenging conditions.

The eventual annexation was driven by two major factors: the prevailing political situation, particularly with regard to the rivalry between France and Spain, and the destabilization of the realm due to years of internal conflict. Both these factors are connected to the

rule of Juan of Aragon who initiated the rivalry with Louis XI of France and was also responsible for the civil war, which had such a devastating long-term effect on Navarre. However, Juan of Aragon would not have had such a direct effect on the fate of Navarre if he had not been married to the queen regnant, and thus female rule provided an opportunity for Juan to gain control of the realm and shape its destiny in such a disastrous fashion.

The annexation took place during a period of female rule, and as discussed previously, the marriage of Catalina to Jean d'Albret was an additional factor toward the loss of the kingdom. This was for two reasons: one was his possible inadequacy as a king consort and the other was the decision to opt for the Albret marriage over the match with Juan of Castile, which caused a rift with their powerful Iberian neighbors, displeased her Navarrese subjects, and added complications to an already unwieldy territorial amalgamation. The couple faced an additional challenge in Catalina's contested succession, which was another point of weakness for her enemies to exploit. Although Catalina may not have been a poor ruler, many of her problems stemmed from issues related to female rule; an unpopular consort, a contested succession, and an unwieldy territorial amalgamation built through the marriages of successive queens and consorts.

Even though female rule was arguably a factor in the annexation of the realm, it can also be argued that the succession of women actually helped to keep the kingdom sovereign in the Middle Ages. Navarre was threatened by predatory neighbors throughout the entire period of this study. The kingdom's French and Iberian neighbors wanted to possess the realm for its strategic position and crucial passes through the Pyrenees. The marriages of the queens and female heiresses thus provided valuable alliances to ward off the threat of a hostile invasion. However, in the case of Juana I, these marriages also drew the realm into an uncomfortable union that damaged, but did not completely destroy, the independence of the realm for an extended period. In the long term, however, Navarre did remain a sovereign state until 1512, and in large part this was due to the important alliances forged by the marriages of the queens and their offspring.

All of the Navarrese queens ruled in challenging circumstances, and their reigns had both a positive and negative impact on the kingdom they ruled. It could be argued that female rule created some of the instability of the realm during these periods, particularly during the contested minorities of Juana I, II, and Catalina, as well as

in the conflict caused by the political agendas of Juan of Aragon. Nevertheless, it cannot be maintained that female rule inevitably results in poor governance as the difficulties faced by the Navarre during the reigns of the queens were not necessarily the result of poor decision making or ineffective administration on their part.

The longest period of female rule in Navarre, from 1425 to 1512, was also one of the most turbulent eras in the history of the kingdom. However, the primary source of the difficulty can be seen in the one period where female rule was interrupted: 1441–1455. This was the moment when Juan of Aragon refused to allow his son Carlos to take up his rightful position as King of Navarre, following the death of Blanca I. The power struggle between father and son became a full-scale civil war that raged intermittently up to and beyond the Annexation of 1512, creating destruction and instability in the realm that the female rulers found impossible to contain or rectify.

This is not to say that the female rulers of this period were blameless. Blanca was responsible for the codicil in her will that allowed Juan to retain the royal title after her death. Her daughter Leonor's ambition to displace her elder siblings as heir to the realm added fuel to the conflict initiated by Juan and Carlos. Magdalena of France kept her children out of Navarre for nearly twenty years and chose a marriage for her daughter that directly contravened the wishes of the Cortes. Finally, Catalina's decision to abandon her Spanish alliance may have cost her the crown in 1512.

Overall, after examining the situations of all of the Navarrese queens, it can be argued that the particular challenge of female rule, their joint sovereignty with a king consort, proved to be a key cause of their difficulties. Just as in the case of a male sovereign, it was important to use the opportunity of their marriage to build a strategic alliance that could bring political and possibly territorial gains. However, the introduction of a king consort could potentially be difficult, for unlike a queen consort there was an open assumption, based on traditions that favored the rights of a husband, that the king consort would be directly involved in the rule of the kingdom. Ideally, the couple would form a functional and harmonious personal and political partnership, aided by an agreement that clearly spelled out the role and rights of both parties. However, a foreign king consort may have put his own ambitions and the needs of his own territories and land of origin ahead of those of his wife's kingdom, which would naturally create difficulties. Finally, the additional complication of governing the territories of both spouses could have an

adverse effect on the kingdom they ruled. The queens of Navarre all contracted foreign marriages that brought territorial gain, but they also resulted in unwieldy amalgamations that were difficult to govern effectively. Although all of the couples appeared to have fairly harmonious personal partnerships, the ambition or shortcomings of a king consort often had a destructive effect.

Elizabeth I of England has often been cited as an example of an effective female ruler and a successful sovereign regardless of gender. Yet part of the reason for her success was arguably her very lack of a male consort. Although she was under continuous pressure, both internally and externally, to marry in order to obtain a valuable alliance and secure the succession, her decision to remain unmarried was one of the key factors for her success. As a scholar who was probably well aware of the mistakes of previous queens regnant and a close observer of her own sister's difficulties with a consort, Elizabeth may have used these precedents in order to steer an alternative course.

Isabel of Castile is another example of a successful queen regnant. Her marriage, unlike those of many of the Navarrese queens, was a source of strength for her. However, in Isabel's case, the territories of her husband combined with her own to form a powerful amalgamation, partially due to their shared borders and largely compatible interests. Moreover, as a capable general and astute politician, Ferdinand was an asset to Isabel. He was certainly ambitious, but his ambitions were usually in line with her own, and as seen in the case of Navarre, she may have been able to restrain his ambition if she felt a different course of action was necessary. Crucially, the *Reyes Católicos* were able to avoid the disasters of their twelfth-century predecessors, Urraca of Leon-Castile and Alfonso of Aragon, by forging a clear agreement which set out the roles, rights, and responsibilities of each spouse. This accord provided an excellent foundation for their personal and political partnership.

Overall, this study of the queens of Navarre has demonstrated that these female sovereigns were active and effective rulers. Throughout this study, evidence has illuminated their many roles as diplomats, administrators, and patronesses. Their agency can clearly be seen in their efforts to draft treaties, mete out justice, found religious houses, negotiate with territorial assemblies, and defend their territories.

This study has also highlighted the distinctive challenges of queenship and the unique obstacles that female sovereigns had to overcome. One was the recognition of their right to rule, which was

often contested and made their succession more difficult than a male candidate even though their right to the crown was enshrined in both law and custom. The second was the impact of their marriages, both in terms of the unwieldy territorial amalgamations that they created and the sometimes negative influence of the king consort. Finally, they had to cope with the political situation that surrounded them, including hostility between their French and Iberian neighbors, the desire of both parties to possess Navarre and its strategic Pyrenean passes, and wider conflicts such as the Hundred Years War and the Italian Wars, which Navarre was drawn into. Although it can be argued that although the political situation would affect both male and female sovereigns equally, female rule itself made the territorial amalgamations possible and created the opportunity for foreign kings consort to access power in Navarre and have an impact on its destiny.

The Kingdom of Navarre played an important part in the political landscape of medieval Europe. The exceptional number of women who were able to administer and govern the realm were enabled by and contributed to the realm's unique and diverse heritage. This study has drawn attention to the fascinating careers of an important group of female sovereigns. In doing so, it has raised awareness of their significant role in the wider political events of the period. It has also demonstrated their links to other female sovereigns, either directly through contact or precedent or indirectly as a basis for analysis and comparison. It has highlighted previously unexplored areas of analysis including the succession process for female claimants, the important role of matrimonial diplomacy, and different modes of power sharing. By so doing, it is hoped that these women and these models of analysis will be more widely included in any future study in the field of queenship and that the history of Navarre will feature more prominently in work on the period at large.



NOTES

1 Introduction: Geography and Gendered Rule

1. Béatrice Leroy, *La Navarre au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1984), 186.
2. The other queens regnant during this period are: Margaret of Norway (Queen of Scotland, 1286–90), Beatrix of Portugal (contested queen, 1383–85), Constanza of Aragon (claimant queen, 1369–87), Isabel of Castile (1474–1504), Isabella of Mallorca (claimant queen, 1375), Maria of Sicily (1392–1401), Giovanna I of Naples (1343–82), Giovanna II of Naples (1414–35), Maria of Hungary (1382–95), Elizabeth of Hungary and Bohemia (claimant queen, 1437–42), Jadwiga of Poland (1382–99), and Margarethe of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark (1375–1412). See Armin Wolf, “Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: Where, When and Why,” in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1998), 169–188. Outside of Europe, it must be noted that the Kingdom of Jerusalem had a similar number of reigning queens immediately prior to the period of this study: Melisende (1131–53), Sibylla (1186–90), Isabella (1190–1205), Maria (1205–12), and Isabella II/Yolande (1212–28). Although these women will be discussed as comparative examples, many of these women were queens regnant in title only, due to the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and the increasing loss of territory during the subsequent years. In addition, despite the fact that most were of French descent, these queens cannot be considered to be truly “European” and therefore do not challenge Navarre’s record of the most female sovereigns in Europe during the Middle Ages.
3. Rachel Bard, *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom* (Reno, 1982), 28.
4. Regarding Carlos as a French prince, see Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516. Vol. 2; 1410–1516 Castillian Hegemony*. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), 564. For a discussion of his reorientation toward peninsular politics see Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, “A modo de presentación: Estudios sobre la realeza Navarra en siglo XV,” in *Estudios sobre la realeza Navarra en siglo XV*, ed. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero (Pamplona, 2005), 11–13.
5. María Narbona-Cárceles, “Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387–1425),” *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), 31–64.
6. Jaime Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon (1398–1479); Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1953), 83, and Jerónimo Zurita,

- Anales de la Corona de Aragon*. 9 vols., ed. Angel Canellas Lopez, vol. 6 (Zaragoza, 1980–90), 134–136.
7. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra La Baja Edad Media*, Colección Temas de Navarra, vol. 2 (Pamplona, 1993), 82–83.
 8. John Carmi Parsons, “Family, Sex and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship,” in *Medieval Queenship*, 1.
 9. Ibid., 1. In 1976, Natalie Zemon Davis called for women’s studies to move “from Women Worthies to a worthier craft,” arguing for a wider examination of women’s agency and activities than just elite women; Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women’s History’ in Transition: The European Case,” *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3/4 (1976), 93.
 10. Theresa Earenfight, “Highly Visible, Often Obscured: The Difficulty of Seeing Queens and Noble Women,” *Medieval Feminist Forum* 44, no. 1 (2008), 86–90.
 11. See Barbara F. Weissburger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis, 2004), Peggy K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (Oxford, 1992), and David A. Boruchoff (ed.), *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays* (London, 2003). Luis Suárez Fernández also wrote a seminal three-volume work, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica: Estudio y Documentos* (Valladolid, 1965–69). Work on Isabel’s daughter Juana includes Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore, 2005), and a collection *Juana of Castile: History and Myth of the Mad Queen*, ed. Maria A. Gomez, Santiago Juan-Navarro and Phyllis Zatlin (London, 2008).
 12. Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez, “Tres Generaciones de mujeres en el poder: Urraca de Zamora, Urraca de Castilla, Teresa de Portugal y Doña Sancha. Las mujeres en la construcción de las monarquías feudales hispánicas,” in *Las mujeres y el poder: Representaciones y Prácticas de vida*, ed. Ana Isabel Cerrada Jimenez and Cristina Segura Graíño (Madrid, 2000), 99–106. Jennifer R. Goodman, “The Lady with the Sword: Philippa of Lancaster and the Chivalry of the Infante Dom Henrique (Prince Henry the Navigator),” in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge, 1993), 149–165. César Olivera Serrano, *Beatriz de Portugal: la pugna dinástica Avis-Trastámara*, Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos (Santiago de Compostela, 2005). Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126* (Princeton, NJ: 1982). Nuria Silleras-Fernández, “Widowhood and Deception: Ambiguities of Queenship in Late Medieval Crown of Aragon,” in *Shell Games: Studies in Scams, Frauds and Deceits (1300–1650)*, ed. Mark Crane, Richard Raiswell, and Margaret Reeves (Toronto, 2004), 185–210.
 13. Nuria Silleras-Fernández, *Power, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria de Luna* (New York, 2008), Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New

- York, 2009), Janna Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Philadelphia, 2012), and Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body: Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010).
14. Cristina Segura Graíño, "Las mujeres y la sucesión a la corona en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media," *En la España Medieval* 12 (1989), 205–214, "Participación de las mujeres en el poder político," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25, no. 2 (1995), 449–462, "Las mujeres y el poder real en Castilla: Finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI," in *Las mujeres y el poder: Representaciones y Prácticas de vida*, ed. Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez and Cristina Segura Graíño (Madrid, 2000), 135–146.
 15. An early example of research into French queenship is Marion Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987–1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968), 3–48. See also Peggy McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 1998), Kathleen Nolan (ed.), *Capetian Women* (New York, 2004), and André Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," in *Medieval Queenship*, 93–116. On Early Modern French queens, see Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, MA: 2004), Pauline Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2001), and Simone Bertière's series on the queens of France: *Les Reines de France au temps du Valois* and another on the Bourbon queens.
 16. See Éliane Viennot, *Marguerite de Valois: Histoire d'une femme, histoire d'un mythe* (Paris, 1993) and *Anne de France, Enseignements à sa fille, suivis de l'Histoire du siège de Brest* (Saint-Etienne, 2007); Sarah Hanley, "The Politics of Identity and Monarchic Government in France: The Debate over Female Exclusion," in *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, ed. Hilda L. Smith (Cambridge, 1998), 289–304; Craig Taylor, "The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French Crown," *French History* 15 (2001), 358–377 and "The Salic Law, French Queenship and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages," *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 4 (2006), 543–564.
 17. Éliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: l'invention de la loi salique (V–XVI siècle)* (Paris, 2006).
 18. An excellent review article on this strand is Anne McLaren, "Queenship in Early Modern England and Scotland," *The Historical Journal* 49 (2006), 935–952. A few examples of research into Early Modern British queenship: Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (London, 2010), Robert M. Healey, "Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 2 (1994), 371–386, Glyn Redworth,

- “Matters Impertinent to Women’: Male and Female Monarchy under Phillip and Mary,” *The English Historical Review* 112, no. 447 (1997), 597–613, Judith M. Richards, “Mary Tudor as ‘Sole Queene’? Gendering Tudor Monarchy,” *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997), 895–924, and “‘To Promote a Woman is to Beare Rule’: Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (1997), 101–121.
19. Clarissa Campell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Britain: 1660–1837—Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester, 2002), Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (New York, 2011), Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (eds.), *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln, 2009).
 20. Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History, Queenship and Power* (New York, 2008).
 21. Helen Castor, *She-Wolves: The Women Who Ruled England before Elizabeth* (London, 2010).
 22. John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1998).
 23. Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Kings College London, April 1995* (Woodbridge, 1997).
 24. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Sukuki (eds.), *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 2009), Levin and Bucholz, *Queens and Power*, and Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise Wilkinson (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin, 2009).
 25. Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002).
 26. William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe: 1300–1800* (New Haven, 2012), and Theresa Earenfight, *Medieval Queenship* (New York, 2013).
 27. A rare recent example of a survey of both halves of a monarchal pair is Katie Whitaker, *A Royal Passion: The Turbulent Marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria* (London, 2010).
 28. Theresa Earenfight, “Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe,” *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007), 8.
 29. Bianchini, *Queen’s Hand*, *passim*.
 30. For Albert, see Stanley Weintraub, *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert* (New York, 2000), and a rare example of an analysis of a partnership between a queen and her consort, Gillian Gill, *We Two: Victoria and Albert; Rulers, Partners, Rivals* (New York, 2009). For the Duke of Edinburgh, see Tim Heald, *Philip: A Portrait of the Duke of Edinburgh* (New York, 1991). A recent biography of Henrik is Stéphanie Surrugue, *Eneganger—Portrait af en prins* (Copenhagen, 2010), or his autobiography, Prince Henrik of Denmark, *Destin Oblige* (Paris, 1996).

31. Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth* (*Les Six livres de la République*), Abridged and trans. by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), Book VI, Chapter 5.
32. The Bible, I Peter 3:1. For Paul, see Colossians 3:18, "wives be subject to your husbands as it behoveth in the Lord." Also Ephesians 5:22–23: "let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord because the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church. He is the saviour of the body."
33. Margaret R. Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early Modern Society* (London, 1995), 57.
34. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).
35. Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection*, 59.
36. Thomas Craig, *The right of succession to the kingdom of England: in two books : against the sophisms of Parsons the Jesuite, who assum'd the counterfeit name of Doleman : by which he endeavours to overthrow not only the rights of succession in kingdoms, but also the sacred authority of kings themselves*, trans. by James Gatherer (London, 1703), 83.
37. H. E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 100. Baldwin II died not long after he confirmed Melisende's rights on August 21, 1131, and less than a month later on September 14, Fulk and Melisende were crowned together in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. See William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea (Volume Two)*, translated and annotated by E. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1976), 51.
38. William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, 71.
39. *Ibid.*, 76.
40. H. E. Mayer, "Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, no. 133 (Philadelphia, 1989); 1–25. The chronicler Orderic Vitalis noted that Fulk had also alienated the nobles by shutting them out of governance and replacing them with Angevins who had accompanied him to Jerusalem. See Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 6 (Oxford, 1978), 390–392.
41. Mayer, "Angevins versus Normans," 4.
42. Mayer, "Queen Melisende," 108.
43. William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, 76. Charter evidence does seem to support this enhancement of her position, even though her title varies to some extent. Charters in 1136, after the insurrection had blown over, do have Melisende's "consent" although she is referred to merely as *uxoris*, not as *reginae*. Two years later in 1138, she is referred to as *reginae*, which is more appropriate given her original status as heir and supposed coruler. However, in charters from later that same year, Melisende is once again reduced to *uxoris* and their son Baldwin

- begins to be mentioned in the consent clause. See R. Rohricht (ed.), *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani MXCVII–MCCXCI*. Vols. 1 and 2 (New York, reprinted edition, 1960, originally published 1893–1904), document nos. 163, 164, 174, 179, and 181.
44. Jaroslav Folda notes the depiction of Melisende as a grieving widow in the illustrations of William of Tyre's chronicle, in line with the author's literary descriptions, "Images of Queen Melisende," 100.
 45. The breakdown of Urraca and Alfonso's marriage is given a thorough treatment in Reilly's aforementioned *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca*.
 46. See Barbara F. Weissberger, "Tanto monta: The Catholic Monarchs' Nuptial Fiction and the Power of Isabel I of Castile," in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Sukuki (Chicago, 2009), 43–62, for an in-depth analysis of the use of this motto and the official symbolism of the *Reyes Católicos*.
 47. Lester Kruger Born, "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Ideals," *Speculum* 3, no. 4 (1928), 504.
 48. Constant J. Mews, "The *Speculum dominarum* (*Miroir des dames*) and the Transformations of the Literature of Instruction for Women in the Early Fourteenth Century," in *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (London, 2011), 27.
 49. Alfonso X of Castile, *Las Siete Partidas* (Title VI, Law I) Vol. 2, ed. Samuel Parsons Scott and Robert Ignatius Burns (Philadelphia, 2001), 298.
 50. William Caxton, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* (1474) (Reprint London, 1883), Book II, Chapter 2.
 51. See Lois L. Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in *The Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Chicago, 1995), 126–146.
 52. Philippa of Hainault's tearful intervention on behalf of the burgers of Calais as described in Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey Brereton (London, 1978), 109.
 53. Craig, *Right to Succession*, 26–27. Although Craig is writing later with regard to the Stuart queens, his comments still reflect both medieval and Early Modern attitudes to females and warfare.
 54. See The Bible, Judges 5, 1–23, known as "The Song of Deborah." It is unclear whether Barak was Deborah's husband or merely a general who worked closely with Deborah to defend the Israelites; various interpretations of the Old Testament have come to different understandings on this issue.
 55. Kelly DeVries, "Catapults Are Not Atomic Bombs: Towards a Redefinition of Effectiveness in Pre-Modern Military Technology," *War in History* 4 (1997), 460.
 56. Antonia Fraser, *The Warrior Queens* (New York, 2004), 177.

57. Anthony Eastmond, "Royal Renewal in Georgia: The Case of Queen Tamar," in *New Constantines; the Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th to 13th Centuries (Papers from the 26th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992)*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), 289. Note; alternative spellings for Tamar's first husband include "George Bogolyubski" and "Yuri Bogolyubsky," and he is also known as Giorgi Rusi by the Georgians.
58. George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), 360.
59. A. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11, no. 1 (January 1936), 13.
60. *Ibid.*, 14.
61. José Yanguas y Miranda, *Inventario del Archivo del Reyno de Navarra: Tomo II; Sección de Casamientos y muertes de Reyes, Sucesión en la Corona, proclamaciones y juramentos Reales*. Copies of original documents made circa 1830. Unpublished, part of the collection at the AGN.
62. Examples include: José Ramón Castro Alava, *Archivo General de Navarra: Catalogo de la sección de comptos; Documentos. Vol. Tomo II (1332–1357)* (Pamplona, 1952), and Maria Itziar Zabalza Aldave, *Archivo General de Navarra (1322–1349). II Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco 81* (Donostia, 1998).
63. Merche Osés Urricelqui, *Documentación medieval de Estella (siglos XII–XVI). Vol I* (Pamplona, 2005), Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, *Documentación medieval de Olite (siglos XII–XIV)* (Pamplona, 2009), and Jose Maria Jimeno Jurio and Roldán Jimeno Aranguren, *Merinidad de Olite II: Documentación del Archivo Municipal de Tafalla (I)* (Pamplona, 2008).
64. Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona: Tomo I (829–1500)* (Pamplona, 1965), José Antonio Munita Loinaz, "Regesta documental del monasterio de La Oliva (1132–1526)," *Príncipe de Viana* 56, no. 205 (1995), 343–484.
65. F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, Mikel Ramos Ramos Aguirre, and Esperanza Ochoa de Olza Eguiraun, *Sellos Medievales de Navarra: Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona, 1995), Carmen Jusué Simonena and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *La Moneda en Navarra*. 2nd ed. (Pamplona, 2002).
66. Santos García Larragueta, *Documentos Navarros en Lengua Occitana, Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco 26* (San Sebastián, 1990), and Ricardo Cierbide and Julián Santano, *Colección Diplomática de Documentos Gascones de la baja Navarra (Siglos XIV–XV): Tomo II, Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco 59* (San Sebastián, 1995).
67. Javier Baleztena, *Documentos Navarros en los Archivos Nacionales Franceses de París* (Pamplona, 1978), and the unpublished work by Martín Larráyoiz Zarranz, *Documentos Relativos a Navarra Existenses en los Archivos Franceses*.

68. Important examples include: R. Anthony and Henri Courteault, *Les testaments des derniers rois de Navarre : François Phébus, 1483, Madeleine de France, 1493, Catherine de Foix, 1504, Jean d'Albret, 1516, Anne d'Albret, 1532 : teste béarnais* (Toulouse, 1940), Jean Auguste Brutais, *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196–1384)* (Paris, 1890), M. Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres des rois, reines et autres personnages de cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV*. Vol. 1: 1162–1300 *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1839), Auguste Longnon, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne et Brie 1172–1361*. Vol. 1: Les Fiefs (Paris, 1901), Joachim Miret y Sans, "Lettres Closes des Derniers Capétiens Directs," *Moyen Age* 28 (1915–1916), 35–57, and G. Servois, "Documents inédits sur l'avènement de Philippe le Long," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, no. 2 (1864), 44–79.
69. Raffaele Strarrabba, *Lettere e Documenti Relativi al Vicario della Regina Bianca in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1993).
70. D. Prospero Bofarull y Mascaro, *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon* (Barcelona, 1851).
71. Some important chronicles for particular areas of my research, for example, the succession crisis of France and Navarre during the childhood of Juana II, include those collected in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France; Contenant la quatrième livraison des monuments des règnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis X, de Philippe V et de Charles IV, depuis MCCXXVI jusqu'en MCCCXXVIII*, ed. H. Welter, XXI–XXIII (Paris, 1876. Reprint, Farnborough, 1968), Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*. Vol. 1. 2 vols., ed. H. Geraud (Paris, 1843), and Geffroy de Paris, *La Chronique Métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. Armel Diverres (Paris, 1956).
72. Selected examples include *Crónica Anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454–1474 (Crónica Castellana)*. Vol. 2; *Cronica*, ed. María Pilar Sanchez-Parra (Madrid, 1991), and Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Historia de la Guerra de Navarra*. trans. Jose Lopez de Toro (Madrid, 1953).
73. Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*. 9 vols., ed. Angel Canellas Lopez (Zaragoza, 1980–90).
74. Garci Lopez de Roncevalles, *Cronica de Garci Lopez de Roncevalles Cuadernos de trabajos de historia*, ed. Carmen Orcastequi Gros and Ángel J. Martin Duque (Pamplona, 1977), Carlos, Principe de Viana, *Cronica De Los Reyes De Navarra*, ed. Jose Yanguas y Miranda and Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Pamplona, 1843).
75. José Ramón Castro Alava, *Historiografía: Los Cronistas Moret y Aleson*. Vol. 118 Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular (Pamplona, 1987), 5–6.
76. Garcia de Eugui was not a major source for this study but for more information on this particular chronicle, see *Historiografía*, 6–8, and Aengus Ward, 'Inventing a Tradition: The Cronica d'Espanya de

- Garcia de Euguí and the Beginnings of Navarrese Historiography," *Medium Aevum* 68, no. 1 (1999), 73–80.
77. For a list of the sources used by the Principe, see Castro Alava, *Historiografía*, 9.
 78. Arnaud d'Oihénhart, *Notitia Utriusque Vasconiae*, Reproduced facsimile of the second edition (Paris, 1656). Includes the original Latin text and a translation into Castellano by Javier Gorosterratzu (Vitoria, 1992).
 79. García Gongora y Torreblanca, *Historia apologetica y descripción del Reyno de Navarra, de su mucha antigüedad, nobleza y calidades y Reyes que dieron principio a su Real casa* (Pamplona, 1628).
 80. Castro Alava, *Historiografía*, 18.
 81. Jose de Moret, *Anales del Reino de Navarra* (Reprint: Tolosa, 1891). Note: Although there are twelve volumes in the series, the ones which focus on the events during the period of this study are volumes 5–7.
 82. Pierre Olhagaray, *Histoire de Foix, Bearn et Navarre, diligemment recueillie tant des precedens historiens, que des archives desdites maisons* (Paris, 1609), and Andre Favyn, *Histoire de Navarre: contenant l'Origine, les Vies et conquests de ses Rois, depuis leur commencement jusques a present* (Paris, 1612).

2 Juana I: The Vacant Throne

1. *Los Fueros medievales de Navarra*, Book II, Title IV, Cap. I.
2. Rachel Bard discusses the development of the Fueros in her chapter "The Foral Base" in *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom* (Reno, 1982), 41–58.
3. The Gobierno de Navarra has recently published an excellent study on the history of the Fueros: *Navarra, Comunidad Foral Historia y actualidad del Fuero Navarro*, 1999. This can be accessed online at http://www.pnte.cfnavarra.es/publicaciones/pdf/fuero_dg.pdf.
4. I. Sánchez Bella (ed.), *El Fuero Reducido de Navarra (Edición crítica y Estudios)*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Pamplona, 1989). On inheritance, royal and otherwise, see Título VIII, 314–319.
5. Although the Roman Lex Voconia of 169 BC did prohibit certain women from being heirs to property, there is ample evidence for Roman women as both heirs and transmitters of property, see Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire* (London, 2002), 13. The Early Medieval Riparian Law, concerning the inheritance of Allodial land (ca. 450 AD) dictated, "If the father and mother be not living, let brother and sister succeed," "The Riparian Law: Inheritance of Allodial Land, c.450," in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, ed. Paul Halsall (1998), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/450allods.html> (Original source: *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, Legum, ed. R. Sohm, [Hanover, 1875–1889], Tome V, p. 240; reprinted in Roy C. Cave & Herbert H. Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* [reprint ed., New York, 1965], 334–335).

6. *The Bible*, Numbers 27, 1–11.
7. S. P. Scott (ed.), *The Visigothic Code: (Forum judicum)*, Book IV, Title II, No. I., at LIBRO (The Library of Iberian Resources Online), <http://libro.uca.edu/vcode/vg4-2.htm>.
8. “The Law of the Salian Franks” in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, ed. Paul Halsall, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/salic-law.html> (Original source: “The Salic Law,” in Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* [London, 1910], 176–189).
9. See the discussion of the laws of inheritance in Labourd, Basse-Navarre, and Soule (all ruled by the last queens of Navarre) in Roslyn M. Frank and Shelley Lowenberg, “The Role of the Basque Woman as Etxeko-Andrea, the Mistress of the House,” in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. Joyce Duncan Falk, (Santa Barbara, 1977), 14.
10. Maïté Lafourcade, “La résistance des Basques à la pénétration du Droit romain: L’exemple du Pays basque de France,” *Revista Internacional de los estudios vascos (RIEV)* 52, no. 1 (2007), 86.
11. Roslyn M. Frank, Monique Laxalt, and Nancy Vosburg, “Inheritance, Marriage and Dowry Rights in the Navarrese and French Basque Law Codes,” in *Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. Joyce Duncan Falk (Reno, 1976), 27–28.
12. Roger Collins, *The Basques* (Oxford, 1990), 160.
13. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), 205.
14. John Carmi Parsons, “Queens and Empresses: The West,” in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (London, 2006), 685.
15. Jack Goody describes this type of dynastic structure as “the familiar dynasty... with male office holders but a bilateral emphasis that opens up the possibility of female kings.” Jack Goody, *Succession to High Office*, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology (Cambridge, 1966), 46.
16. Earenfight, “Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe,” *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007), 7.
17. For Urraca, see Bernard F. Reilly, *Queen Urraca: The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126* (Princeton, NJ: 1982). An excellent primary source for Melisende’s career is William of Tyre’s aforementioned *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* (*A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*), trans. Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943).
18. See Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), and Charles Beem’s chapter on Matilda in *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*, Queenship and Power (New York, 2008).

19. Miriam Shadis discusses her situation in "Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage and Succession," in *Medieval Motherhood*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, (New York, 1996), 335–358, and in "Women, Gender and Rulership in Romance Europe: The Iberian Case," *History Compass* 4, no. 3 (2006), 481–487.
20. Shadis, "The Iberian Case," 485–486.
21. Janna Bianchini notes this particular episode was "a rare opportunity to observe a power struggle that was defined by its female participants": Berenguela, Alfonso IX's first wife, Teresa of Portugal, and the Infantas Sancha and Dulce. Bianchini, *Queen's Hand*, 181.
22. Moret, Vol. 5, 19. It should be noted, however, that although all of Juana's uncles were dead by 1274, she had three surviving aunts who were married to important nobles. However, one of her aunts, Beatrice had already formally renounced her place in the succession in 1273 and due to the customs of the Fueros, Juana's claim as the surviving child of the last king would have been stronger than that of her aunts or cousins. Juana also had an illegitimate brother, Juan Enríquez de Lacarra, but there is no record of any attempt by him to claim the throne.
23. Moret, Vol. 5, 19. However, there is no surviving record of this ceremony in the AGN.
24. Richard P. Kincade, "Alfonso X, Cantiga 235 and the Events of 1269–1278," *Speculum* 67, no. 2 (1992), 300.
25. Moret, Vol. 5, 33.
26. Moret, Vol. 5, 40–41.
27. AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no. 68 dated August 14, 1274, at Pamplona.
28. Documents LI and LII in Auguste Longnon, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne et Brie 1172–1361. Vol. I: Les Fiefs* (Paris, 1901), 483.
29. Beatrice Leroy, *La Navarre au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1984), 45.
30. Jose Maria Lacarra, *Historia Política del Reino de Navarra desde sus Orígenes hasta su Incorporación a Castilla*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1973), 205.
31. AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no. 65 dated November 30, 1273, at Bonloc. Also printed in Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, Et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica, Inter Reges Angliae, Et Alios...* Vol. II. (London, 1705), "Conventio Cyrographata inter Regem Angliae, & H. Regem Navarrrae, Super matrimonio contrahendo inter Henr: Filium Regis Angliae, & Johannam filiam Regis Navarrrae," 18
32. Rymer, *Foedera*, 18; original titles are listed as *Henrico, filio primogenito & heredi praefati Edwardi Regis Angliae* and *Johanna, filia nostra nobis succedat, & fit haeres in Regno Navarrrae, Comitatus Campanie & Brie, & in aliis bonis nobis*.
33. See the discussion of this ultimately unsuccessful attempt to broker a marital alliance in Bianchini, *Queen's Hand*, 245. The original

- documentation for this treaty is listed in Julio Gonzalez, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III* (Cordoba, 1980–86), nos. 533 and 540 dated September 10, 1234, and October 31, 1234, respectively. Blanca was displaced by her younger brother Teobaldo in 1238 and went on to contract a marriage to Jean I, Duke of Brittany.
34. Rymer, *Foedera*, 19. The phrase used to refer to the French king is *Serenissimum Principem Dominum nostrum Regem Franciae*.
 35. F. Darwin Swift, "Marriage Alliance of the Infanta Pedro of Aragon and Edward I of England, 9 Oct. 1273," *The English Historical Review* 5, no. 18 (1890), 327.
 36. The full text of this document (in Latin) is printed in Swift, "Marriage Alliance," 329. The document's provenance is listed as Royal Archives of Aragon, Parchments of Jaime I, No. 1173.
 37. Pierre Narbaitz, *Navarra; o cuando los Vascos tenían reyes*, trans. Elena Barberena (Tafalla, 2007), 274.
 38. AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.73 dated November 1, 1274, at Olite. Note: One of the few documents from Juana's minority, which was written under her own authority and seal, is her approval of an accord between the French governor and Montegudo's sons over the ownership of six towns and their fortifications—demonstrating their power and influence to this particular family that the queen's personal accord was necessary. See AGN Comptos, Caj.4, no.35, dated June 25, 1281.
 39. Zurita, Vol. 1, 720–721.
 40. *Ibid.*, 724.
 41. Moret, Vol. 5, 37.
 42. Alfonso's brother Felipe came to Navarre to pledge homage to Enrique, and it is noted that Enrique gave him support in his struggle against his royal brother; see AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, nos.58–64, dated January 25, 1274.
 43. Lacarra, *Historia política*, 216. Fernando also used economic persuasion on the Navarrese, granting the inhabitants of Mendavia commercial rights with Castile; AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no.69, dated November 18, 1274 at Mendavia.
 44. Narbaitz, *Navarra*, 276.
 45. The marriage agreements for Teobaldo and Violante of Castile were signed on September 25, 1272, at Munilla; AGN Comptos, Caj.4, no.30. See also Kincade, "Alfonso X Cantiga 235 and the Events of 1269–1278," *Speculum* 67, no. 2 (1992), 294.
 46. Carlos, Principe de Viana, *Cronica de los Reyes de Navarra*, ed. Jose Yanguas y Miranda and Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Pamplona, 1843), Capitulo 7, 136.
 47. A translated version of the original agreement is printed in Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), 87.

48. Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987–1328)* (London, 1960), 128.
49. DME, Document no. 11, pp. 108–109. (AME, Fondos Especiales, Extraviado). See also Moret, Vol.5, 35–36.
50. Narbaitz, *Navarra*, 275. Blanche of Artois granted the city a remission of taxes the following year in recognition of their support and for damages caused during the Castilian attack, see AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no.74 dated February 9, 1275, at Sans (Burgundy).
51. Moret copied the full text of this document in Vol.5, 42–44.
52. The frustration of the nobility with regard to the French marriage is discussed in Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra: La Baja Edad Media*, Colección Temas de Navarra, vol. 2 (Pamplona, 1993), 37.
53. DMO, document No. 46 (AMO, Pergaminos, 22), dated May 1276, 294–296.
54. Ibid., 294. “*E que todos tiempos seamos plazenteros del casamiento que sea entre el fijo del rey de França et la dicha dona Johana, nuestra seynnora, et que non uengamos en otra por nos ni por otra en ninguna manera que pueda seer dicha ni pensada.*”
55. One of the best primary sources for the revolt is contemporary poet Guilhem Anelier’s version in verse: *Histoire De La Guerre De Navarre en 1276 et 1277*, Collection des documents inedits sur l’histoire de France, ed. Francisque Michel (Paris, 1856). The Principe de Viana also has extended coverage of this event in his chronicle (see Capítulos 7–10). Intriguingly, even though he himself was of the House of Aragon, the Principe portrays the conflict as between supporters of the Castile and France, omitting to mention the Aragonese faction, claim, or potential betrothal. The chronicler Garci Lopez de Roncevalles takes a similar line: *Cronica de Garci Lopez de Roncevalles*, Cuadernos de Trabajos de Historia, ed. Carmen Orcastequi Gros and Ángel J. Martin Duque (Pamplona, 1977), 72.
56. José María Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval* (Pamplona, 2006), 43.
57. Manuel Iribarren, *En la Orbita Francesa. Vol. 170 Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular* (Pamplona, 1971), 9.
58. Principe de Viana, *Cronica*, 146.
59. Anelier, *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre*, 182–183.
60. Xavier Hélary, “La place des questions de succession dans la politique extérieure de Philippe III le Hardi” in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Succession in Medieval Europe, c. 1000–c. 1600: Établir et abolir les norms; la succession dans l’Europe médiévale, vers 1000–vers 1600*, ed. Frédérique Lachaud and Michael Penman (Turnhout, 2008), 113–114.
61. Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona*, document nos. 710–13, all dated ca.1278, 169–70.
62. Ibid., document no.720, dated ca.1279, 171.
63. Kincade, “Alfonso X,” 310.
64. Ibid., 301.

65. Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe Occidentale de 1270 à 1380 Histoire du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1940), 268.
66. Ibid., 311–312.
67. Alfonso Espinet and Juan Manuel Gouzà lez-Cremona, *Diccionario de los Reyes de España* (Barcelona, 1989), 222.
68. See Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia De Navarra*, 38–39, and Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, 43–44.
69. José Javier López Antón, “La optica fuerista del ‘nabarrismo’ euskaro sobre la guerra de la Navarrería,” *Príncipe de Viana* 58, no. 210 (1997), 119–144.
70. Narbaitz, *Navarra*, 276. Original text is “la más correcta.”
71. These documents can be found in the Codices section of the AGN, specifically Codices C.3, which is made up of 23 folios of material from 1276 to 1279 and Codices C.7 that spans 1274–1285.
72. One example: “*pro domicella Iohanna regina et herede regni Navarre et nomine ipsius*” or “on behalf of the young lady Juana, queen and heir of the kingdom of Navarre and in her own name”: AGN Codices, C.3, 3r (2) dated July 6, 1277, at Nemours.
73. AGN Codices, C.3, 5v–6r dated October 22, 1277, from Paris and AGN Comptos Caj.4, 35 dated June 25, 1281.
74. The exact date of their wedding is unclear; Walter Rhodes suggests that it took place between December 1275 and the end of January 1276. Walter E. Rhodes, “Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Continued)” *English Historical Review* 10, no. 38 (1895), 214.
75. Ibid., 214.
76. Henry Thomas Riley (ed.), *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde, Monachorum S.Albani Necnon Quorundam Anonymorum Chronica et Annales, Regantibus Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo et Henrico Quarto*. Vol. 3 (London, 1866), 70–71.
77. Rhodes, “Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Continued),” 224.
78. J. R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980), 9.
79. The English connection came with the accession of Stephen of Blois in 1135, while they were linked to the Kingdom of Jerusalem when Henry of Champagne married Isabella, Queen of Jerusalem, in 1192.
80. Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (London, 1980), 43.
81. A translation of the inquest can be found in Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia, 1993), 54–56 (Doc. 38).
82. Ibid., 50–51 (Doc. 35).
83. Ibid., 52–54 (Docs 36 and 37).
84. Ibid., 54 (Doc. 37).
85. Ibid., 55 (Doc. 38).
86. Ibid., 56 (Doc. 38).
87. Rhodes, “Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Continued),” 225.

88. AGN Codices, C.6, 144 (2) dated June 3, 1287: "and we Juana, by the grace of God Queen of France and Navarre, heir of this (kingdom)"; original text is "*Et nos Iohanna, Dei gratia Francie et Nauarre regina, de cuius hereditate.*" It is interesting to note that Juana's Champenois titles are not always listed.
89. See Maria Itziar Zabalza Aldave, "Tipología documental del reinado de Felipe I y Juana I de Navarra (1284–1307)," *Príncipe de Viana Anejo* 8, no. 3; Comunicaciones Edad Media (1988), 693–702.
90. An example of Juana's assent clause is "We see (this) Juana by the grace of God Queen of France and Navarre Countess Palatine of Champagne and Brie as inherited"; Original text is "*Nos vero Iohanna dei gracia francie et Nauarre Regina Campanie et brie comitissa palatine de aug(?) difficult to read) hereditate.*" AGN Comptos, Caj. 4, no.100, August 1, 1294, at Felleixin.
91. Longnon includes three slightly different copies of this document as Docs. LVI, LVII, and LVIII, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne*, 484–485.
92. Longnon, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne*, Doc. LXI, dated February 20, 1285, at Paris, 486.
93. Hiroshi Takayama, "The Local Administrative System of France under Philip IV (1285–1314)—Ballis and Seneschals," *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), 174.
94. John F. Benton, "Philip the Fair and the Jours de Troyes," in *Culture, Power and Personality in Medieval France*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (London, 1991), 191.
95. Ibid., 196, and Fawtier, *Capetian Kings*, 128–129. Lalou discusses Juana's confirmations and her use of her seal to demonstrate her assent and assert her feudal rights at length; Elisabeth Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne 1285–1305," *Cahiers Haut-Marnais* 167 (1986), 19–24.
96. Benton, "Jours de Troyes," 210–211.
97. Blanche's successful career as Countess of Champagne is thoroughly discussed in Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 81–85.
98. Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne," 16–30.
99. Ibid., 24.
100. Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne," 25–27. See in particular Lalou's map on p. 26, which details five of the couple's journeys.
101. "Extraits de la chronique attribuée a Jean Desnouelles, abbé de Saint-Vincent de Laon," *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France XXI* (Paris, 1855), 184–185, *Chronographia regum Francorum*, Vol.1 ed. Henri Moranville (Paris, 1891), 57–58, and *Chronique Normande de XIVe siecle*, ed. Auguste and Emile Molinier (Paris, 1882), 4.
102. Original text is "*en sa terre...que sa terre ne fust perdue*" (Desnouelles, p.185), and "*s'en ala en sa terre...paeor que sa terre ne feust perdue*"; *Chronique Normande*, p.4.

103. Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne," 28. Original text is "*l'image guerrière d'une forte femme qui accomplit son devoir de seigneur comme un chevalier*." The chronicle cited by Lalou is *Istoire et chroniques de Flandes*, ed. Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, Vol. 1 (Bruxelles, 1880), 219.
104. Ibid., 28.
105. Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard, Évêque de Troyes (1308–1313)* (Paris, 1896), 14.
106. Ibid., 14.
107. Ibid., 21–25, and Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, 302–3.
108. Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard*, 15.
109. Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard*, 26–7.
110. Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard*, 29. Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, 305.
111. Ibid.
112. Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard*, 52.
113. The letter of accusation is translated by Rigault on pp. 58–59 and included in full as Pièce Justificative XII. The original provenance of the document is AN J.438.
114. Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, 309–310.
115. See documents testifying to Juana's birth date and place from the inquest in Champagne on her inheritance in Evergates, *Documents*, 54–56.
116. Anelier, *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre*, 44–45.
117. Alan M. Stahl, "Coinage in the name of Medieval Women," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, GA: 1990), 321.
118. Faustin Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales de France*. 3 vols. (reprint, Graz, 1961), Vol. 2. 176, and pictorial example on plate LXXI.
119. Stahl, "Coinage," 321.
120. Juan Carrasco Perez, "El impuesto del mondaje en el reino de Navarra (ca.1243–1355): fiscalidad, demographía, historia monetaria," *Príncipe de Viana* 252.30 (2011), 22.
121. Catherine Léglu notes that Occitan was "one of the few Romance languages that did not eventually become the official idiom of a nation-state." Catherine Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan and Catalan Narratives* (University Park, PA: 2010), 5. Although this is arguably true in Navarre, there is one official charter issued by Juana I and Philip IV of France in Occitan during their trip to the Midi in 1300; Santos Garcia Larragueta, *Documentos Navarros en Lengua Occitana*, Fuentes Documentales Medievales del Pais Vasco 26 (San Sebastian, 1990), AMP no.68, dated November 1300 in Cahors, 175.
122. The lone document that lists Juana's French title is AGN Roncevalles, leg. 1, no.49, dated December 30, 1288, 130. The other two examples can be found in AGN Irache, leg. 8, no. 230, dated April 1, 1303, p. 203 and AHN OM San Juan, leg. 720–721, no.46, dated February 7,

- 1299, p.166, respectively. Original text is “*nostra dona Iobana reyna de Navarra*” and “*Regnant dona Jobana filla del rey don Hennric de Navarra*.”
123. AGN Comptos, Caj.163, no.3 dated February, 1302.
 124. AGN Comptos Caj.5 no.4 dated January, 1302 at Paris.
 125. AGN Comptos, Caj.162, no.39, 2 dated March 20, 1473, at Olite.
 126. Laurent Brun, “Girart d’Amiens,” ARLIMA (Archives de littérature du Moyen Age), Accessed April 25, 2011, http://www.arlima.net/eh/girart_damiens.html.
 127. The British Library has a fifteenth-century manuscript version of this work, also known as the *Miroir des Dames*, BL Royal 19 B XVI. In this version there is an exquisite image of Durand presenting the book to Juana as his patroness (f.2).
 128. Lester Kruger Born, “The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Ideals” *Speculum* 3, no. 4 (1928),” 494.
 129. Strayer implies that Juana may have encouraged Joinville’s subtle criticism of Philip IV’s rule in the book and may have also been indicating to her son to follow the model of Louis IX over that of his own father. Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, 18.
 130. AGN Comptos, Caj.4, no.98 dated May 29, 1294.
 131. Espinet and Gouz  lez-Cremona, *Reyes de Espa a*, 222–223, and Ram rez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, 39.
 132. F lix Segura Urrea, *Fazer Justicia: Fuero, poder p blico y delito en Navarra (siglos XIII–XIV)* (Pamplona, 2005), 266. The episode is documented in AGN Reg. 8, fol. 10v. (1304).
 133. J. R. Strayer notes that Philip was throwing away “considerable financial and political advantages” by failing to remarry, remarking that “very few of his contemporaries missed such an opportunity.” Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, 10.
 134. Master Arnaud Garsie’s testimony (originally in BN lat.4270), quoted in Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Prince Is Father to the King: The Character and Childhood of Phillip the Fair,” *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), 287.
 135. Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, 9.
 136. Ibid., 17
 137. Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1978), 14–15. Sylvie Le Cletch, *Philippe le Bel et les derniers Cap tiens* (Paris, 2007), 38. le Cletch’s comment is that the queen “*occupe une place de retrait de la vie politique*” or “occupied a place of retreat (or stood back) from the political life.”
 138. Brown, “Childhood of Philip,” 305–306, and “Persona et Gesta: The Image and Deeds of the Thirteenth Century Capetians: The Case of Phillip the Fair,” in *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, ed. Elizabeth A. R. Brown (Aldershot, 1991), 229. Strayer notes that the councillors hailed her as a “New Esther” and Philip may have “felt that his royal dignity had been affronted” by her apparent sympathy with the reformers; *Philip the Fair*, 17–18.

139. The document is printed in full in Pierre Dupuy, *Traite de la Maiorite de nos Rois et des Regences du Royaume avec les prevues tirees tant du Tresor des Chartres du Roy que des Registres du Parlement et autres lieux* (Paris, 1655), 145–147. The original provenance of the ordinance is cited (by Brown) as AN J 401, no. 4, dated October 1294 at Vincennes.
140. Brown, “Childhood of Philip,” 304.
141. Poulet, “Capetian Women,” 110.
142. Ibid., 110.
143. M. le cher de Courcelles, *Notices Historiques et Généalogiques sur les Maisons Souveraines* (Paris, 1828), 76, and P. Anselme and M. du Fourny, *Histoire Genealogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1726), 91.
144. See Georges Daumet, *Étude sur l’alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV^e et Xv^e siècles* (Paris, 1898).
145. César González Mínguez, “La Minoria de Ferdinando IV de Castilla (1295–1301),” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* (Porto) Ser. 2, Bd. 15 (1998), 1073 (68), and Anselme and Fourny, *Histoire Genealogique*, 91. González Mínguez only mentions the betrothal of Blanche, not her substitution for her elder sister, Marguerite.
146. This treaty is Archives Nationales (France) J601/40 bis, “Traité d’alliance entre Philippe le Bel, roi de France et Ferdinand IV, roi de Castille et de Léon réalisé à Valladolid le 31 mars 1306.”
147. Charles Cawley, “Medieval Lands: A Prospography of Medieval and European Noble and Royal Families,” Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, (<http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/CAPET.htm#>), citing *Continuatio Chronici Guillelmi de Nangiaco*, 592.
148. Juana’s presence is specifically noted in a betrothal ceremony in Paris in “*Sponsalia inter Edvardum filium Regis & Isabellam Regis Franciae filiam*” dated May 20, 1303, in Rymer, *Foedera*, 928. On the pope’s role, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France,” *Speculum* 63, no. 3 (1988), 574.
149. AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.65 dated November 30, 1273, at Bonloc. Also printed in Rymer, *Foedera*, 18.
150. Anselme and Fourny, *Histoire Genealogique*, 90.
151. Courcelles, *Notices Historiques*, 76.
152. Note: there is considerable disagreement about the date of Juana’s death that is alternatively given as 1304 or 1305.
153. Juana’s will is dated March 1304 (given at Vincennes), Bibliothèque nationale de France, n. acq. fr. 7111, fol. 91. It is reproduced in full in César Egasse Du Boulay, *Historia Vniuersitatis Parisiensis*, Vol.4 (Paris, 1668), 74–80, with addendum 80–87. See also Arantza Albertos San José, Ruth García-Alonso Montoya, and José María Ortiz Ibarz, “París 1304: La fundación del Colegio de Navarra. El testamento de la reina Juana,” *Príncipe de Viana* 52.194 (1991), 58–63.

154. These female relatives include her cousin Isabel of Burgundy, Queen of the Germans (grand-daughter of Teobaldo I of Navarre through his daughter Beatrix), and Margaret, Duchess of Lorraine (daughter of Teobaldo I). The seven women referred to were named as Marie de Cheu, Peronelle de Giry, and Jaqueline d'Iffi, who each received 500 l; Agnes d'Angeron, Agnes de Braye, and Marie "the little one" each received 200 l; and Beatrix de Villier was left 1000 l. for her wedding.
155. Juana also left a bequest of 500 l. for Marigny's daughter Marotte for her marriage.
156. The will of Jeanne de Bourgogne is Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Brienne 140, fol 124 v., dated 1319. For detail on the will of Jeanne d'Evreux see Constant Leber (ed.), "Le compte de l'exécution du testament et darraine volente de feue dame de bonne memoire Madame la royne Jehanne de Evreux jadis royne de France et de Navarre," in *Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France*, vol. 19 (Paris, 1832), 165. Clémence of Hungary's will is published in Jean Pierre Moret de Bourchenu, Marquis de Valbonnais (ed.), *Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de dauphins, particulièrement de ceux de la troisieme race, descendus des barons de la Tour-du-Pin, sous le dernier desquels a été fait le transport de leurs états à la couronne de France* (Geneve: Fabri & Barrillot, 1722), 217–221. Many thanks to Mariah Proctor-Tiffany for her input on the subject of queen's wills and sharing her research on the will of Clémence.
157. For more on the will of Blanche de Navarre see Brigitte Buettner, "Le système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre," *Clio, Histoire, Femmes et Sociétés*, 19 (2004), 37–62, and Marguerite Keane, "Most Beautiful and Next Best: Value in the Collection of a Medieval Queen," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), 360–373. Thanks to Marguerite Keane for her helpful discussions about the wills of the women of the house of Navarre.
158. Bequests were left for the Sisters Minor at Meaux, Troyes, Sefarne, Bar-sur-Aube, Sens, Auxerre, Vezelay, Provins, Saint Marcel, and for the Franciscan convent in Paris.
159. See "París 1304: La fundación del Colegio de Navarra" for further discussion of the foundation of the college and Juana's uncle Teobaldo II's attempt to found a university in the Navarrese city of Tudela.
160. The original document for the foundation of the college is in the Archives Nationale de France, dossier Grands documents de l'histoire de France ; Florilège, AE/II/308/A & B (originally J155/2), dated March 25, 1305 at Vincennes.
161. Du Boulay, *Historia Vniuersitatis Parisiensis*, 76.
162. Carlos Sánchez Marco, "Collège de Navarre en Paris," on *Historia Medieval del Reyno de Navarra*, Fundación Lebrél Blanco, 2005. <http://www.lebrelblanco.com/anexos/ao267.htm>.

163. Ibid.
164. Brown, "Persona et Gesta," 224.
165. Examples of these bequests include 1000 livres for the Sisters Minor of Provins and 200 livres each for the Sisters Minor and for another convent in Troyes.
166. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Royal Salvation and the Needs of the State in Early Fourteenth Century France," in *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot, 1991), 24 and note 65.
167. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Late Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," in *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot, 1991), 255–256.
168. Juana's confessor, Durand de Champagne, was a Franciscan. See also her previous patronage of the Convent of Santa Clara in Tudela, another Franciscan foundation.
169. Rina Lahav, "A Mirror of Queenship: The Speculum Dominarum and the Demands of Justice" in *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, ed. Karen Green and Constance Mews (London, 2011), 33.
170. The full text of the dedication is printed in "París 1304: La fundación del Colegio de Navarra," 66–67.
171. Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona*, document no.927, dated April 28, 1307, 219.
172. AGN Comptos, Caj.5, no.98, dated October 1317 from Paris.
173. Iribarren, *En la Órbita Francesa*, 13. José María Jimeno Jurío cites several examples of visible French influence including the architecture of Santa Maria de Olite and the mural paintings in the refectory of the cathedral in Pamplona; Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, 47.
174. Moret, Vol.5, 248.

3 Juana II: The Queen Returns Home

1. There are several accounts of the scandal in contemporary chronicles including: Geffroy de Paris, *La Chronique Métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. Armel Diverres (Paris, 1956); "E Chronico Sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi" and "Ex Anonymo Regum Franciae Chronico" in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France: Contenant la quatrième livraison des monuments des regnes de Saint Louis, de Philip le Hardi, de Philip le Bel, de Louis X, de Philip V et de Charles IV, depuis MCCXXVI jusqu'en MCCCXXVIII*, ed. Victor Palmé (Paris, 1865; reprint, Farnborough, 1968).
2. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Prince Is Father to the King: The Character and Childhood of Phillip the Fair," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), 283 and 315–316.
3. See Peggy McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 1998), particularly

her introduction for her general discussion of queenship and the issue of adultery and her conclusion, which draws in the situation around Marguerite of Burgundy and how it affected the succession of Juana to the French throne.

4. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Diplomacy, Adultery and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabelle's Mission to France in 1314," in *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Paddy Cuttino*, ed. J. S. Hamilton and Patricia J. Bradley (Woodbridge, 1989), 53–83.
5. Chronicle of John of St. Victor (*Johannis a Sancto Victore*) in *Recueil des Historiens de Gaules et de la France XXI* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1855), 663.
6. Raymond Cazelles, *La Société Politique et la crise de la Royauté sous Philippe de Valois* (Paris, 1958), 38.
7. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X," *Traditio* 34 (1978), 238.
8. G. Servois, "Documents inédits sur l'avènement de Philip le Long," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, no. 2 (1864), 50; Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philip le Long, Roi de France (1316–1322)*. Vol. 1; *Le Règne* (Paris, 1897), 37. The text of the agreement can be found as preview CCXXIV in Urbain Plancher, *Histoire Generale et Particuliere de Bourgogne: Avec des Notes, des Dissertations et les Preuves Justificatives: Composée sur les Auteurs, les Titres Originaux, les Régistres Publics, les Cartulaires des Eglises Cathédrales et Collégiales, des Abbayes, des Monasteres et autres Anciens Monuments; et enrichie de Vignettes, de Cartres Géographiques, de Divers Plans, de Plusieurs Figures, de Portiques, Tombeaux & Sceaux Tant des Ducs que des Grandes Maisons*, 4 vols. (Dijon, 1739), Vol. 2.
9. Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philip le Long*, 43.
10. Servois, "Documents inédits," 53.
11. This astonishing episode was recorded in the "Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto," in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Gaules Et De La France; Contenant la deuxième livraison des monuments des règnes de Saint Louis, de Philip le Hardi, de Philip le Bel, de Louis X, de Philip V et de Charles IV, depuis MCCCXXVI jusqu'en MCCCXXVIII*, ed. Martin Bouquet, XXI (Paris, 1855. Reprint: Farnborough, 1968), 47. A nearly identical account is given in the Continuations of Guillaume de Nangis; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, 2 vols., ed. H. Geraud (Paris, 1843), Vol. 1, 431–432. My sincere thanks go to my colleague Dr. Carey Fleiner for her advice on the translation of this passage, particularly on the complex meanings of several key phrases including the term *ex inseperato* (literally indivisible), which was used to describe the two brothers, Philip and Charles.

12. See the letter of Agnes to Robert de Bethune, Count of Flanders (December 1316) in Servois, "Documents inédits," 68–70.
13. See *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, 47. The chronicler notes that it was decided at this meeting that women could not succeed to the French crown: "*Tunc etiam declarum fuit quod ad coronam regni Franciae mulier non succedat.*" See also Ernest Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne. Vol. VII; Règnes de Hughes V & Eudes IV* (Paris, 1901), 55.
14. Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on the Familial Order and the States* (Cambridge, MA: 1981), 152–154.
15. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 152.
16. Sarah Hanley, "The Politics of Identity and Monarchic Government in France: The Debate over Female Exclusion," in *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, ed. Hilda L. Smith (Cambridge, 1998), 80. Note: This first reference to Salic Law appeared in Richard Lescot's *Genealogia aliquorum regnum Francie* (1358).
17. Philip Contamine, "Le royaume de France ne peut tomber en fille": Fondement, Formulation et implication d'une théorie politique à la fin du Moyen Age," *Perspectives Médiévales* 13 (1987), 72. Contamine suggests that this sentiment was definitely absorbed into the political culture of France between 1409 and 1413.
18. R. J. Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France, 1328–1589* (London, 2004), 2, John Milton Potter, "The Development and Significance of the Salic Law of the French," *The English Historical Review* 52, no. 206 (1937), 249, and François Hotman, *Francogallia*, trans. J. H. M. Salmon, ed. Ralph E. Giesey (Cambridge, 1972), 268–269.
19. Éliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: l'invention de la loi salique (V–XVI siècle)* (Paris, 2006), 312.
20. In addition to the previously cited articles by Potter, Hanley, and Contamine, there are several pieces of scholarship on Salic Law that deserve a mention. Viennot's recent book has already been noted; another French work that deals directly with this particular situation is Micheline Peyrebonne, *La véritable histoire de la loi salique: Jeanne, la mineure et Philippe, l'usurpateur* (reprint Dualpha, 2002). Craig Taylor's work on the Salic Law, which was noted in the Introduction, is well regarded, and two other articles that explore Salic Law are Elie Barnavi, "Mythes et Réalité Historique: Le Cas de la Loi Salique," *Histoire, Économie et Société* 3.3 (1984), 323–337, and Kathleen Daly and Ralph E. Giesey, "Noël de Fribois et la loi Salique," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 151 (1993), 5–36.
21. Taylor, "Salic Law, French Queenship," 550.
22. Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (London, 1980), 365.
23. Servois, "Documents inédits," 71.
24. Cazelles, *La Société Politique*, 38–39, C. T. Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy 1224–1328* (Cambridge, MA: 1966), 126 and

130. The full text of the agreement is reprinted in Denis-François Secousse, *Recueil de pieces servant des preuves aux mémoires sur les troubles excités en France par Charles II, dit le Mauvais, Roi de Navarre et Comte d'Evreux* (Paris:, 1755), 6–10.
25. Brown, “Double Funeral of Louis X,” 235.
26. Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philip le Long*, 41.
27. Potter, “Salic Law,” 239.
28. Cazelles, *La Société Politique*, 49.
29. Béatrice Leroy, “Les débuts de la dynastie d'Evreux en Navarre: des experiences mutuelles, de nouvelles situations,” *En la España Medieval* 17 (1994), 17. See also Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia De Navarra: La Baja Edad Media*, Colección Temas de Navarra, vol. 2 (Pamplona, 1993), 41. Miranda Garcia notes that a dispensation was sought due to the bride's tender age and that the marriage was not consummated until 1324; Fermín Miranda García, *Felipe III y Juana II de Evreux* (Pamplona, 2003), 23.
30. Martin Scott, *Medieval Europe* (London, 1964), 322–323.
31. Jules Viard, “Philip VI de Valois: La Succession au Trône,” *Moyen Age* 32 (1921), 219.
32. Joachim Miret y Sans, “Lettres closes des derniers Capétiens directs,” *Moyen Age* 28 (1915–1916), 56. Original text is “*Jehanne fille de roy de France, par ycelle mesmes grace royne de Navarre, contesse d'Evreux, d'Engolème, de Mortaing et de Longueville.*”
33. Tania Mertzman, “An Examination of Miniatures of the Office of St. Louis in Juana de Navarre's Book of Hours,” *Athamor*, no. 12 (1994), 19.
34. Marguerite Keane, “Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the Hours of Juana of Navarre,” *Visual Resources* 20, no. 2–3 (2004), 238.
35. Javier Martinez de Aguirre, *Arte y Monarquia en Navarra (1328–1425)* (Pamplona, 1987), 338.
36. ADPA E 519, “Compte de recettes et dépenses rendu par Adam de La Grève, argentier de Philippe d'Évreux et de Jeanne, roi et reine de Navarre,” dated ca. 1330.
37. Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey Brereton (London, 1978), 150.
38. While Juana's tomb was at Saint Denis and her husband's was in the Cathedral of Pamplona, the couple's hearts were reunited and buried at the church of the Jacobins in Paris. Their daughter, Blanche, Queen of France, commissioned their *gisants*, which can now be found in the Louvre. See Margeurite Keane, “Most Beautiful and Next Best: Value in the Collection of a Medieval Queen,” *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), 362.
39. Viennot, *La France*, 324. Original text is “*un geste d'expiation des usurpateurs envers une princesse qui aurait dû être reine de France.*”

40. Fermín Miranda García, "Felipe y Juana de Évreux y la guerra de Cien Años (1337–1349)," in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philip Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1996), 82.
41. Cazelles discusses the arrangements for the compensation of the royal daughters of France in *La Société Politique*, 50. Initially, the precise sums to be paid to the women was not fixed, and three further agreements were drafted in 1330, 1335, and 1336 to settle the situation, which was complicated by a further dispute over the inheritance of the County of Artois after the death of the redoubtable Mahaut in 1329. The Duke of Burgundy was compensated with the 10,000 livres of lands that had been given by Philip V to his brother Charles, on the condition that the lands would return to Philip's daughters in the event that Charles came to the throne. Cazelles cites three documents from the *Archives Nationales* that detail the agreements: AN K408, no. 34, P2291, p.411, JJ 66 no.447 and JJ 69 no.185. Martín Larráyo Zarranz notes a further document dated July 18, 1334, from Philip de Valois ratifying this agreement and authorizing a payment of 1,000 *livres tournois* and land promised to Marie and Blanche, daughters of Charles IV in the agreement of 1328. See Javier Baleztena, *Documentos Navarros en los Archivos Nacionales Franceses de Paris* (Pamplona, 1978), Document no.52 (K.52, no.27 'Resume Tardif, no.1212, p.379a), 34.
42. Moret, 234.
43. Iribarren, "En la Orbita Francesa," 11.
44. Moret, Vol. 5, 132.
45. Pilar Azcárate Aguilar-Amat, "Navarra en estado de alerta: Un proyecto castellano-aragonés de intervención en 1329?" *Príncipe de Viana* Anejo 8, no. 3; Comunicaciones Edad Media (1988), 313–320.
46. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, "Un golpe revolucionario en Navarra: 13 de marzo de 1328," in *Coups d'état à la fin du moyen âge aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale*, ed. Jean Philip Genet and José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), 403–432.
47. The council of Olite drafted a document in preparation for this meeting that gave their representative permission to recognize Juana as Queen of Navarre. DMO, Document 155, dated April 24, 1328, at Olite, pp.467–69 (AMO, Pergaminos 56). The official request from the Cortes to Juana II is AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.81 dated May 4, 1328.
48. Pope John XXII issued a papal bull in support of Philip d'Evreux as King of Navarre on August 22, 1328 (AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.80 from Avignon). It is interesting to note that he is confirming Juana's husband as king, not Juana herself, even though she is the actual claimant.
49. AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.85 dated July 20, 1328 at Paris.
50. AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.84 dated July 20, 1328 at Paris.
51. AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.82 dated July 20, 1328 at Paris.
52. AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.83 dated July 20, 1328 at Paris.

53. AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.83 dated July 20, 1328 at Paris.
54. AGN Comptos, Caj.6, No. 81 dated May 4, 1328, at Pamplona. Ramírez Vaquero, "Un golpe revolucionario," 424.
55. The results of this meeting, sent to Philip and Juana, is found in AGN Comptos, Caj.41, no.37, 2 dated November 30, 1328, at Pamplona.
56. AGN Comptos, Caj.41, no.37, 2 dated November 30, 1328, at Pamplona.
57. AGN Comptos, Caj.41, no.37, 2 dated November 30, 1328 at Pamplona, and see also *Felipe III y Juana II*, 88.
58. Further evidence of the ongoing negotiation between the Cortes and Henri de Sully as the Evreux's representative can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj. 31, no.7, 7 (2) dated January 12, 1329, at Estella.
59. A portion of the original document reprinted in Javier Zabalo Zabalegui, *La administración del Reino de Navarra en el siglo XIV* (Pamplona, 1973), 53. The provenance of the document is AGN Comptos, Caj.6, No. 60.
60. The coronation documents are AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no.60 dated March 5, 1329 at Pamplona. See also Jose Maria Lacarra, *El juramento de los reyes de Navarra (1234-1329)* (Zaragoza, 1972), 62.
61. AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated May 15, 1329, at Olite. Also Jose Maria Lacarra "Las cortes de Olite 1329 y la sucesion al Reino de Navarra," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 55-56 (1972), 307.
62. AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated May 15, 1329, at Olite.
63. Favyn, 411.
64. Jose Maria Lacarra, "Las cortes de Olite 1329 y la sucesion al Reino de Navarra," 308.
65. Moret reproduced the text of the letter sent from the Cortes to Philip IV of France on the death of Juana I, which firmly stated that Louis should immediately assume the kingship of Navarre and travel to Pamplona in Vol.5, 152-54.
66. AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated May 15, 1329, at Olite.
67. Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, 137.
68. Ibid., 102-107, and Segura Urrea, *Fazer Justicia: Fuero, poder público y delito en Navarra (siglos XIII-XIV)* (Pamplona, 2005), 38-44.
69. For examples of their work to improve castles and royal residences see Martinez de Aguirre, *Arte y Monarquía*.
70. Béatrice Leroy, "La Navarre au XIV^e siècle sous la dynastie d'Evreux (1328-1387): Un exemple de royaume Ibérique gouverné par des rois français," in *Les communications dans la péninsule Ibérique au moyen age (Actes du Colloque tenu à Pau les 28 et 29 mars 1980 sous la direction de P. Tucoo-Chala)*, ed. Pierre Tucoo-Chala (Paris, 1981), 91.
71. Martinez de Aguirre, *Arte y Monarquía*, 214-217.
72. AGN Comptos, Caj.26, no.6 dated January 28, 1330, at Tudela.
73. Martinez de Aguirre, *Arte et Monarquía*, 278.
74. AGN Comptos, Caj. 28, no.62, dated July 1374 at Pamplona.
75. On the Jewish community in Navarre see Leroy, *La Navarre au Moyen Age*, 109-125.

76. See Nadia Marin, "La matanza de 1328, témoin des solidarités de la Navarre chrétienne," *Principe de Viana* 59, no.213 (1998), 147–170.
77. Segura Urrea, *Fazer Justicia*, 400.
78. Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, *Crimen y castigo en Navarra bajo el reinado de los primeros Evreux (1328–1349)*, Colección Historia (Pamplona, 2005), 310.
79. Garci Lopez de Roncevalles, *Cronica de Garci Lopez de Roncevalles Cuadernos de trabajos de historia*, ed. Carmen Orcastequi Gros and Ángel J. Martín Duque (Pamplona, 1977), 76.
80. For an examination of Philip's preparation for and role in the crusade, see Marianne Mahn-Lot, "Philip d'Evreux, Roi de Navarre et un projet de Croisade contre le Royaume de Grenade (1329–1331)," *Bulletin Hispanique* 46 (1944), 227–233.
81. Juan Carrasco Perez, Julio Valdeón Barúque, Josep Maria Salrach, and Maria Jesus Viguera (eds.), *Historia de las Espanas Medievales* (Barcelona, 2002), 349.
82. Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, 70.
83. AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no. 35. Other related documents are AGN Comptos, Caj.7, nos.36–7 and 47 dated between April 28, 1332, and April 29, 1333. The text of the agreement is also printed in full in José Ramón Castro Alava, "El Matrimonio de Pedro IV de Aragon y María de Navarra," in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon III* (Zaragoza, 1947), 121–144.
84. Dates for Juana are vague—in some sources she is omitted entirely from the records. However, it is likely that she was born sometime between 1328 and 1330.
85. Castro Alava discusses the confusion between the fates of the two Juanas in "El Matrimonio," 61–62. He notes Zurita's suggestion that Maria pleased Pedro better and cites the stories of the Early Modern chroniclers Moret and Arnaldo de Oyenhart who confirm Juana's decision to take the veil with evidence of her burial at Longchamps.
86. The marriage capitulations for the couple can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no.58, 1 dated January 6, 1337, at Castillo de Cineto, and Pedro's approval of the agreement is in Caj.7, no.58, 12 dated April 22, 1337, at Zaragoza.
87. See AGN Comptos, Caj.9, nos.14, 86, and 101.
88. Marie-Laure Surget, "Mariage et pouvoir : réflexion sur le rôle de l'alliance dans les relations entre les Evreux-Navarre et les Valois au XIV siècle (1325–1376)," *Annales de Normandie*, 58.1–2, (2008), 37. It is worth noting that later Navarrese sovereigns continued to pursue alliances with Brittany, resulting in the marriages of Juana of Navarre (daughter of Carlos II) and Jean V in 1386 and Marguerite of Navarre (daughter of Leonor and Gaston of Foix) and François II in 1474.
89. The Foundation for Medieval Genealogy suggests that an earlier betrothal was made for Blanche in 1335 with Andre de Viennois, heir

- to Humbert, Dauphin of Viennois. However, there appears to be no surviving documentary evidence of this match in the AGN to support this claim. Andre also died in 1335, so even if the betrothal was made this would account for Blanche's freedom to contract another marriage. Lacarra, *Historia Politica*, 46.
90. Paris, Sainte Geneviève ms 898, f. 3–5 dated March 15, 1340, cited in Surget, "Mariage et pouvoir," 37.
 91. AGN Caj.7, no.1, signed March 15, 1330, at Salamanca; see also Pilar Azarcate Aguilar-Amat, "La Guerra de 1335 entre Castilla y Navarra," *Hispania* XLIX.173 (1989), 806.
 92. Aguilar-Amat has suggested that this was a war that neither king wanted, driven by the interests of those in the border region and possibly by the anti-Castilian sentiment of Henri de Sully, Juana and Philip's governor. See Aguilar-Amat, "La Guerra de 1335," 807–808.
 93. The peace treaty is AGN Comptos caj.7, no.65, signed February 28, 1336. Juana's charters regarding the Monastery of Fitero are AGN Comptos Caj. 7, no.65 ff 6–7 dated April 1336 at Lerin.
 94. Lacarra, *Historia Politica*, 46.
 95. Georges Daumet, "Etude sur les relations d'Innocent VI avec Don Pedro 1er Roi de Castille au sujet de Blanche de Bourbon," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 17, no. 17 (1897), 153–198. For an interesting discussion of an attempt by Clement VI to reinvigorate the betrothal between Blanche and Pedro after the death of Philip de Valois, see G. Mollat, "Clement VI et Blanche de Navarre, reine de France," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 71, no. 1 (1959), 377–380.
 96. Lacarram *Historia Politica*, 46. Lacarra lists the original document's provenance as Arch. Nat de Paris, J602, no.43.
 97. For more on Blanche, see Brigitte Buettner, "Le Système des Objets dans le Testament de Blanche de Navarre," *Clio* 19 (2004).
 98. The marriage contract for the couple was signed at Pontigny on July 4, 1349; AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.119–20.
 99. AGN Comptos, caj.7, 74 dated June 28. 1336. See also Aguilar-Amat, "La Guerra de 1335," 830.
 100. Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331–1391)* (Woodbridge, 2008), 26. See also Lacarra, *Historia Politica*, Vol.3, 46.
 101. Leroy, "La Navarre au XIVe siècle," 86.
 102. AGN Comptos, Caj. 9, no. 116 dated May 5, 1349, at Saint Germain de Evreux.
 103. Pierre Tucoo-Chala, "L'histoire tragique d'un couple au XIVe siècle: Agnès de Navarre et Gaston Fébus," *Principe de Viana Anejo* 2–3 (1986), 743. Tucoo-Chala notes that all of the documentary evidence for the marriage can be found in Samaran, *La Gascogne dans les registres du Trésor des Chartres*, Collection of Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Paris, 1966, nos. 715, 718, 724, 735, 739. Several of the documents that

- testify to Philip VI's involvement in the negotiations are reprinted in Jean Brutais, *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196–1384)*, (Paris, 1890); documents XXXVI, XXXVIII, and XXXIX.
104. See the following chapter for a lengthy discussion of the dowry dispute and the breakdown of the marriage.
 105. For the Neapolitan marriage see Nancy Goldstone, *The Lady Queen: The Notorious Reign of Joanna I, Queen of Naples, Jerusalem and Sicily* (New York, 2009), 228–229 and 233. See also a discussion of how this marriage enabled Juana's son to organize an expedition to Greece; Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, 71.
 106. Surget “Mariage et pouvoir,” 53–54.
 107. Leroy, “Les débuts,” 17.
 108. Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, 23.
 109. Principe de Viana, *Cronica*, 168.
 110. *Garci Lopez de Roncevalles*, 73.
 111. For more discussions about queens regent in medieval France, see Poulet, “Capetian Women,” 93–116. For Early Modern examples see Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).
 112. Mahn-Lot, “Philip d'Évreux,” 227–233.
 113. This was not an automatic right; Juana was forced to pay Philip VI of France 3,000 l. for the privilege of being her children's guardian and administering her late husband's patrimony on her son's behalf. See Surget, “Mariage et pouvoir,” 38.
 114. The document that alludes to plans for a return to Navarre is AGN Comptos Caj. 9, no.7 dated March 29, 1344, at Breval.
 115. Juana's antipathy toward Philip de Melun can be seen in an order that she sent, which prevented him from seeking any further payment for expenses incurred during his period as governor; AGN Comptos Caj.9, no.92 dated April 24, 1345, at Breval.
 116. Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, 128–131.
 117. Segura Urrea, *Fazer Justicia*, 263 (on corruption) and 384 (on debtors—see also AGN Reg.58).
 118. Segura Urrea, *Fazer Justicia*, 158. Another document that shows her awareness of minor matters is her request to seize the goods of Ezmel de Abiltas, a Jewish resident of Tudela, due to the debts he owed to the realm; AGN Comptos Caj. 9, no.75, dated March 29, 1344, at Breval.
 119. AGN Codices, C.6, 132–133, dated February 25, 1347.
 120. Miranda García, “Felipe y Juana de Évreux y la guerra de Cien Años,” 91. Original text is “*una postura manifiestamente reivindicativa*.”
 121. Cazelles, *La Société Politique*, 207.
 122. Philip Charon, “Contribution à l'histoire des principautés territoriales en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'exemple de la principauté d'Évreux, 1298–1378,” *Journal des savants* 1 (1995), 155.

123. Cazelles, *La Société Politique*, 207–208. The agreement can be found in Thomas Rymer, *Foedera conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, ab ineunte saeculo duodecimo, viz. ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractata: ex autographis, infra secretiore archivorum regiorum thesaurarias per multa saecula reconditis, fideliter exscripta: in lucem missa de mandato Reginae*. (London, 1705), II, 157.
124. Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, 74.

4 Blanca I: The Peacemaker

1. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra: La Baja Edad Media*, Colección Temas de Navarra, vol. II (Pamplona, 1993), 75.
2. Moret, Vol. 6, 99. Moret claims that Carlos was liberated in 1382, but this would make the birth date of Juana unviable. See also Ramírez Vaquero, *Carlos III, rey de Navarra, príncipe de sangre Valois (1387–1425)* (Gijón, 2007), 27.
3. Moret, Vol. 6, 99, and Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, “Leonor de Trastámara, reina de Navarra,” *Príncipe de Viana* 8 (1947), 40–41.
4. Ballesteros, “Leonor de Trastámara,” 42.
5. Jose Ramon Castro Alava, *Carlos III el Noble; Rey de Navarra* (Pamplona: Instituto Príncipe de Viana, 1967), 170.
6. Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 175.
7. Ballesteros, “Leonor de Trastámara,” 43.
8. Moret, Vol. 6, 143.
9. Moret, Vol. 6, 144.
10. Moret, Vol. 6, 144.
11. Ballesteros, “Leonor de Trastámara,” 44–45.
12. Moret, Vol. 6, 154.
13. Moret, Vol. 6, 140.
14. Ballesteros, “Leonor de Trastámara,” 49.
15. See Appendix Two in Narbona-Cárceles “Woman at Court,” 54–64.
16. Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 168–169.
17. Moret, Vol. 6, 158–159. Moret described the queen as *desamparada*, which can mean helpless, abandoned, or defenseless.
18. Ballesteros, “Leonor de Trastámara,” 53. AGN Comptos Caj. 60, no. 26, July 25, 1394, in Pamplona.
19. AGN Comptos, Caj. 73, nos. 7, 9 II, 12, 14, 16 are those that are relevant to the succession of the Infantas. It is worth noting that Carlos had an additional motive for ensuring his daughters’ succession; he was about to set out on a trip to France and wanted to make certain that the succession of the realm was secure in case anything should befall him on his journey.
20. DME, Document 154, dated September 5, 1396, at Estella.

21. DME, Document 158, dated September 11, 1396, at Estella.
22. DME, Document 158, dated September 11, 1396, at Estella.
23. AGN Comptos, Caj. 73, no.28 (1), dated November 27, 1398, at Olite.
24. Ballesteros, "Leonor de Trastámara," 61–62. Ballesteros notes that the documentation for the queen's coronation can be found in AGN Comptos 273–274.
25. Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 172.
26. On the "Iberianizing" influence of the queen, see María Narbona-Cárceles, "Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387–1425)" *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), 31–64.
27. Moret comments on Leonor's peacemaking efforts in Vol. 6, 155.
28. See genealogical chart in the appendices.
29. The marriage capitulations for Juana's first marriage to the Duke of Brittany are AGN Comptos Caj.60, no.7 dated September 2, 1386, at Bayonne.
30. Carlos's illegitimate daughters were married as follows: Juana (mother unknown) was married to Iñigo Ortiz de Zuniga, Margarita (de Esparza) to Gracian d'Agramonte, Blanca (de Esparza) to González Hurtado de Mendoza, another Juana was married to Luis de Beaumont, first Count of Lerin. Regarding his sons from Maria Miguel de Esparza, Godofre was married to Teresa Ramírez de Arellano and Lancelot became the Bishop of Pamplona.
31. For examples, see AGN Comptos, Caj.102, no.30, 1 (2) dated October 13, 1413, and Caj.140, no.28, 1 (2) dated 1440 at Tafalla.
32. AGN Comptos, Caj.73, no.17, 1–5 dated October 10, 1395, to October 12, 1396.
33. AGN Comptos, Caj.9, 122–123 dated August 12, 1349, at Conflans.
34. AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.126 dated December 2, 1349.
35. Pierre Tucoo-Chala, "L'histoire tragique d'un couple au XIVE siecle: Agnès de Navarre et Gaston Fèbus," *Principe de Viana Anejo* 2–3 (1986), 744.
36. See "At the Court of the Count of Foix (1388)" in Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey Brereton (London, 1978), 263–274.
37. *Ibid.*, 267.
38. Tucoo-Chala, "Histoire Tragique," 746–747.
39. AGN Comptos, Caj.173, no.23, dated between 1362 and 1396; this includes six pages worth of items.
40. Urban V wrote to Gaston of Foix in December 1364 and asked him to not only resolve the dispute but also to take back his wife; Tucoo-Chala, "Histoire Tragique," 748.
41. AGN Comptos, Caj.63, no.43, 5, 11 dated May 1392.
42. Tucoo-Chala, "Histoire Tragique," 752–753. However, Tucoo-Chala notes that this final settlement was adapted as part of a dowry arrangement for Matthew of Foix in 1396, where it appears he intended to use

- the dowry money of his new Aragonese bride to repay Agnes (AGN Comptos, Caj.60, no.45).
43. Luis's birth and death dates are somewhat obscure and the subject of some disagreement between historians. Castro Alava and Ballesteros both claim that Luis was born December 20, 1399, and died in July 1400. However, Yanguas set his birth in 1401, and Moret's collaborator Aleson claims that Luis died in 1402. See Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 183–184, and Ballesteros, "Leonor de Trastámara," 59.
 44. Merche Osés Urricelqui, "Ceremonias funerarias de la realeza navarra en la baja edad media," in *Estudios sobre la realeza Navarra en siglo XV*, ed. E. Ramírez Vaquero (Pamplona, 2005), 119–120. For Carlos's will see M. Arigita y Lasa, *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de Navarra* (Pamplona, 1900), 415.
 45. AGN Comptos, Caj.87, no.52, dated December 3, 1402. Juana and Jean of Foix were married in October of the same year.
 46. DME, Document 169, dated December 3rd at Olite, 455–463 (AME Fondos Especiales, no.65). Carlos III's will, dated September 23, 1412, affirmed Juana's right as "*nuestra heredera general et Uniuersal*" followed by Blanca and Isabel; in Arigita y Lasa, *Colección de Documentos*, 414. See also Béatrice Leroy, "Neutralité ou double jeu? Le rôle du royaume de Navarre dans les relations internationales de la fin du XIV^e siècle et du début du XV^e siècle," in *Terres et Hommes du Sud (Hommage à Pierre Tucóo-Chala)*, ed. Christian Desplat (Biarritz, 1992), 500.
 47. Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 347–349.
 48. Castro Alava believes that Juana may have died as a result of a difficult pregnancy after an earlier miscarriage, possibly in 1411. See Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 389–392. There is a receipt for a payment to an apothecary for delivering medicine to the Infanta, which had been prepared by the king's doctor, Judas Orabuena; AGN Comptos, Caj. 106, no.14, 57, dated July 22, 1413. The expenses for Juana's funeral can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.103, no.66, 25, 39–42, dated August 1413.
 49. Giovanna would have seemed a likely choice as their marriage could have ultimately paved the way to the Aragonese consolidation of Naples and Sicily. According to the annalist Zurita, Martín intended to marry Giovanna, but was persuaded by his father not to go ahead with a betrothal as she was already contracted to wed William, Duke of Austria; see J. Zurita, *Indices de las Gestas de los Reyes de Aragon desde comienzos del reinado al año 1410* (Zaragoza, 1984), 267. However, Tramontana argues that the Neapolitan match would have been unpopular with the Sicilian and Neapolitan nobility, the pope, and several powerful neighbors; Salvatore Tramontana, "Il matrimonio con Martino: il progetto, i capitoli, la festa," *Principe de Viana* 60 (1999), 17.
 50. Salvatore Fodale, "Blanca de Navarra y el Gobierno de Sicilia," *Principe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999), 314.

51. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero claims that a Castilian match for Isabel was also part of the Aragonese negotiations for the marriage of 1402; see Ramírez Vaquero, *Carlos III*, 137.
52. There is an open-ended papal bull that was issued in 1402, which allowed for any of Carlos III's children to marry relations within the third or fourth degree. This may have been intended to cover all potential marital negotiations for Carlos's daughters including the ongoing negotiations with Foix and Aragon. AGN Papeles Sueltos (PS), 1st series, Leg. 32, no.3 dated August 6, 1402, at Vaucluse.
53. Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 253.
54. Luis Suarez Fernandez and Juan Reglá Campistol (eds.), *Historia de España XIV: España Cristiana, Crisis de la Reconquista, Luchas Cíviles* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966), 426.
55. There is a very interesting discussion of Blanca's supposed beauty in Laura Sciascia, "Le ossa di Bianca di Navarra: ancora l'eros come metafora del potere," *Quaderni Medievali* 43 (1997), 120–134. Tramontana notes a letter sent from the King of Aragon to his son in Sicily concerning his Navarrese bride, describing her as "most beautiful... and endowed with all virtues"; see Tramontana, "Il matrimonio con Martino," 18. Blanca was also celebrated as the "glory of the Sicilian realm" by contemporary poets, such as Andria di Anfusu who praised "her piety, nobility, her extreme magnificence, her generosity, fairness, her renown, energy and steadiness." The poem by Anfusu is reprinted in Fodale, "Blanca de Navarra y el gobierno de Sicilia," 320–321. See also Laura Sciascia, "Bianca de Navarra, l'ultima regina: Storia al femminile della monarchia siciliana," *Principe de Viana* 60 (1999), 306.
56. Castro discusses the marriage capitulations in great detail; the dowry was made up primarily of 100,000 *florines de Aragon*. In return, Blanca was assigned the rents of certain castles and territories that were customarily assigned to the Queens of Sicily. Castro Alava, *Carlos III el Noble*, 257–261. The text of the matrimonial capitulations is also printed here; note that it predates the selection of Blanca (*una de las IIIo infantas de Nauarra*).
57. An example of the expenditure for Beatriz's wedding can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.82, no.3, 51 dated October 18, 1406.
58. Bourbon only appears to have received 13,701 florins in 1407, and after Beatriz's death Jacques wrote to demand the rest of the money due. There may have been a prolonged dispute over the missing money as there were later requests to view the marriage capitulations of the couple. See AGN Comptos, Caj.94, no.12 dated April 7, 1407, and AGN Comptos, Caj. 103, no.40 dated October 17, 1413, at Paris. The Prior of Roncesvalles claimed to have a copy in 1436 while the Principe de Viana asked to view the agreement in 1448. See AGN Comptos, Caj.138, no.15, 31 dated May 12, 1436, at Pamplona, and AGN Comptos, Caj.154, no.62, 6 dated October 12, 1448, at Olite.

59. The first failure to meet an installment payment came in 1403, when Carlos could only offer jewellery worth 12,100 florins toward an expected payment of 36,300 florins; AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.1 dated April 4, 1403, at Olite. In August 1403, the King of Aragon demanded that the full installment be paid by the following Christmas; AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.4 dated August 7, 1403, at the Monastery of Val de Cristo. A year later in summer, the Aragonese received a payment of 8,000, and the payments were reduced to 15,000 florins annually over the next four years; AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.6 dated August 20, 1404, at Mallén. King of Aragon issued an extension on payment a few months later; AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.8, dated December 12, 1404, at Barcelona. Shortly afterward, Carlos paid an additional 10,000, which completed the 15,000 installment due at Christmas and provided another 3,000 toward the next payment due; AGN Comptos, Caj. 90, no.9, dated January 9, 1405, at Mallén. See also AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.3 dated April 27, 1403, at Valencia, which promised not to sell the jewelry held by the King of Aragon as surety for further payment. However the jewels appear to have been sold in 1405 when Martín of Sicily demanded payment; AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.25 dated June 27, 1405, at Barcelona. See also Maria Rita Lo Forte Scirpo, "La questione dotale nelle nozze siciliane di Bianca," *Principe de Viana* 60 (1999), 277–92.
60. However the date and location of the event is disputed; Tramontana claims they took place on November 26, 1402, at the cathedral in Palermo while documentary evidence from the AGN places the event on the May 21, 1402, at Catania (AGN Comptos, Caj.73, no.30).
61. Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), 110–111.
62. Tramontana, "Il matrimonio con Martino," 23.
63. Martín's mother, Maria de Luna, emphasized the need for the couple to produce an heir for the Aragonese, "We trust in Our Lord God, will bring forth the fruit which the said King, Us, and You, and all of His, Our and Your vassals and subjects desire"; translated in Nuria Silleras-Fernandez, *Power, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria de Luna* (New York, 2008), 84.
64. Silleras-Fernandez, *Power, Piety and Patronage*, 85.
65. Notice of the birth was given in early 1407: "Our most beloved daughter the queen of Sicily has bourn by the grace of God a fair son, which has been named Martín." See Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 268.
66. See Theresa Earenfight, "Absent Kings: Queens as Political Partners in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot, 2005), 33–54.
67. For Maria de Luna's political career, see Silleras-Fernandez, *Power, Piety and Patronage*, especially pp.5–7 and chapters 2 and 4.

68. Sciascia, "Le ossa di Bianca di Navarra," 125. Original text is "*con prudenza e abilità*."
69. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 126.
70. Fodale, "Blanca de Navarra," 317. For the Sardinian situation, see Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 124 and 129–30.
71. The Aragonese annalist Zurita lamented Martín's death "in the middle of the rejoicing for his victory, flourishing in every kind of courage and glory"; Zurita, *Indices*, 290.
72. Fodale, "Blanca de Navarra," 317. Lalinde Abadia thoroughly discusses the situation of a *Virrey* or viceroy and the difficulties of the role noting, "It has been demonstrated and cannot be missed—the unpopularity of all of these extraordinary officials"; Jesus Lalinde Abadia, "Virreyes y lugartenientes medievales en la Corona de Aragon," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 31 (1960), 150.
73. Carmelo Trasselli has argued that Blanca's severe financial difficulties were not due to her governance but due to the incredibly inefficient tax system, a relic of the military feudal structure that she had inherited from earlier rulers of the island. See Carmelo Trasselli, "Su le finanze siciliane da Bianca ai Vicere," in *Mediterraneo e Sicilia all'inizio dell'Epoca Moderna* (Cosenza: Pellegrini, 1977), 227. See also my paper "Blanca, Queen of Sicily and Queen of Navarre: Connecting the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean via an Aragonese alliance," in *Queenship in the Mediterranean*, ed. Woodacre (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).
74. For further detail see Fodale, "Blanca de Navarra," and Sciascia, "l'ultima regina." See also Francesco Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo I: Dal regno al vicereame in Sicilia* (Palermo: Manfredi, 1953).
75. Corrao claims that the arrival of the Navarrese princess upset the delicate equilibrium at court that caused the rivalries between the two groups of nobles, those of Catalan and those of Sicilian descent, to come to the forefront. Pietro Corrao, *Governare un regno. Potere, società e istituzioni in Sicilia fra trecento e quattrocento* (Naples, 1991), 113.
76. See Corrao, *Governare un Regno*, 146–148; Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen: Économie et Société en Sicile 1300–1450* (Palermo, 1986), 848, and Fodale, "Blanca de Navarra," 320.
77. See AGN Comptos, Caj. 84, no.9, 20–21 and 30, dated November 19, 1410, and August 20, 1410, both from Pamplona. These documents concern the expenses of Nicolas de Roncevalles, who was entrusted to a mission to see Pope Benedict XIII in August and a trip to Zaragoza in November, both with regard to Blanca's situation in Sicily.
78. AGN Comptos, Caj. 93, no.2, 4 (1–2) dated January 16 and February 8, 1406, regarding the burial of the Infanta Maria at the convent of the *frailes menores* or Franciscan (Capuchin) order at Olite.
79. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 138.

80. Juan's biographer Jaime Vicens Vives discusses the romantic suggestion of Desdevises du Dezert that Blanca and Juan fell in love during their Sicilian meeting, claiming that "more than a contract of love, it was a political, economic and diplomatic concert"; Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragón*, 18 and 25. The head of the powerful de Peralta clan, Pierres, was part of this delegation of nobles that safeguarded Blanca's return; see AGN Comptos, Caj.113, no.75, 1 dated September 29, 1414. More expenditure for this trip can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.113, no.97, 2 dated December 22, 1414, at Olite.
81. AGN Registros, 1st Series, no.339; a series of six documents concerning aid sent by various cities to fund the expenses of Blanca's return to Navarre dated April 1415 and later Registros, 1st Series, no.342, dated September 15, 1415, contains 75 sheets that record expenses spent for the "fiesta" thrown on Blanca's return.
82. The only surviving version of this document is Yanguas y Miranda, Leg.1, Carp.13, originally dated October 28, 1416, at Olite.
83. Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, 347.
84. The marriage capitulations for this engagement appear to have been lost although there is a reference to them in a request from Carlos III to view the document, AGN Comptos, Caj.101, no.59, 37 dated October 28, 1410, at Olite.
85. AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.6, dated May 26, 1414 at Orthez. Also reprinted in Cierbide and Santano, *Colección Diplomática*, 138–145.
86. J. Reglá Campistol, "La cuestion de los Pirineos a comienzos de la edad moderna: El intento imperialista de Gaston de Foix," in *Relaciones Internacionales de España con Francia e Italia*, ed. Jaime Vicens Vives, Estudios de Historia Moderna (Barcelona, 1951), 12.
87. Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990), 47–48.
88. Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, 17.
89. See Zurita, Vol.5, 420–421, and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II* (Pamplona, 2003), 62. Bisson suggests that the marriage to Juan of Aragon was unpopular in Naples, forcing Giovanna to make alternative arrangements; Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 138.
90. AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.16 dated December 30, 1418, at Mantua. It is worth noting that Carlos had obtained a bull for Isabel's marriage at the beginning of the same year from the anti-pope Benedict XIII (AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.13 dated January 18, 1418 at Peñíscola), while this bull came from Martin V, which reflects the end of the papal schism. There are records of two men given money (470 florins) for a trip to see Martin V as the king's representatives in September; presumably this was related to the bull, AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.12, 56 dated September 20, 1418.
91. The marriage capitulations for Juana and Jean of Foix were signed on October 24, 1402, at Orthez (AGN Comptos, Caj.87, no.50).

- Negotiations for the Armagnac marriage began in 1418 (AGN Comptos, Caj.117, no.19 dated March 17, 1418, at Riche) and the marriage capitulations were signed on May 10, 1419, at Tudela (AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.13).
92. The 1415 records indicate that Carlos gave Jean of Foix financial and military aid to fight the Count of Armagnac; AGN Comptos, Caj.115, no.24, 1 dated May 1, 1415, at Pamplona.
 93. Whether Henry V did this out of genuine fear of witchcraft, in retaliation for Juana's pro-French stance, or to get at her dowry funds is still a matter of discussion, see Alec Reginald Meyers, *Crown, Household, and Parliament in Fifteenth Century England* (London, 1985), xiv–xv.
 94. Jose Ángel Sesma Muñoz, "La reina doña Blanca y Aragón," *Príncipe de Viana* 60 (1999), 35–48. See also Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragón*, 24.
 95. The accord can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.15, 1–2 dated November 5, 1419, at Olite. These comprise two versions; the original is 1, which is badly damaged and partially illegible, while 2 is a certified copy from 1713, which includes their coronation agreements.
 96. Juan named de Sandoval as his representative in AGN Comptos, Caj. 104, no.14, 1 dated May 23, 1419, and the document regarding Blanca's place in the succession is Caj.104, no.14, 2 of the same date.
 97. Hans Eberard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 143–144.
 98. Rohricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, No.137a. Also cited in Mayer, "Succession," 144. Mayer also argues that Fulk's insistence that Melisende was officially recognized as heiress was tied to the similar recognition of the Empress Matilda as Henry I of England's heir (146). Original text is "*filia regis et regni Ierosolimitani haeres.*"
 99. AGN Comptos, Caj. 118, no.66, 1 dated May 18, 1420, at Valladolid.
 100. AGN Comptos, Caj.118, no.17, 1–3 dated May 26, 1419, at Tudela.
 101. AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.15, 1–2 signed November 5, 1419, at Olite.
 102. See José Ramón Castro Alava, "Blanca de Navarra y Juan de Aragón," *Príncipe de Viana* 27 (1966), 51–55, and Ramírez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II*, 68–73.
 103. Ramírez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II*, 70.
 104. Máximo Diago Hernando, "Política y guerra en la frontera castellano-navarra durante la época Trastámara," *Príncipe de Viana*, 55 (1994), 527–550.
 105. Blanca's period of residence in Castile is well documented through records of expediture for messengers between the Navarrese court and Blanca's residence, in particular see AGN Comptos, Caj.107–8 for a substantial number of documents from 1421 to 1423.
 106. Moret Vol.6, 247–248. The document for the creation of the principality is dated January 20, 1423, at Tudela and is reprinted in Moret, Vol.6, 261–262.

107. Juan Carrasco Perez, "El principado de Viana," *Príncipe de Viana* 53 (1992), 191–214.
108. Castro Alava, "Blanca de Navarra y Juan de Aragón," 47–63. It is also worthy of note that the contract protected Blanca's maternal rights; her children were not to be separated from her unless she expressly wished it.
109. DME, Document number 187, dated June 4, 1422, at Olite, 521–22 (AME, Fondos Especiales, no.188).
110. DME, Documents 187 (as above) and 188 dated June 11, 1422, also at Olite (AME Fondos Especiales, no.65).
111. A document in the AGN for expenses incurred for her baptism named her birth date as October 14, 1422; AGN Comptos Caj, 108, no.5, 12 dated October 22, 1422.
112. AGN Comptos Caj. 122, no. 3, 1–14, no.4, 2–6 dated between January 3 and 9, 1423.
113. A receipt for expenses incurred for the funeral can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.124, no.35, 6 (1–2) dated November 29, 1425, and December 16, 1425.
114. Carlos III sent several musicians to entertain his daughter in Castile, including a singer and a viola player; AGN Comptos Caj.107, no.4, 73 dated May 16, 1421, and Caj.108, no.9, 33 dated May 25, 1422. The continued contact between the courts of Navarre and Blanca's household in Castile is also shown by the visit of her half-brother Godfrey (noted in the latter document).
115. DME, Document 189 (AMSCI.Estella, D-8), dated February 29 at Tafalla.
116. Luis Javier Fortún, *Sedes Reales de Navarra* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1991), 230.
117. Moret, Vol.6, 260.
118. Maria Isabel Ostolaza Elizando, "D.Juan de Aragón y Navarra, un verdadero príncipe Trastámara," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 16 (2000), 595.
119. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 129.
120. Narbaitz, *Navarra*, 389.
121. Moret, Vol.6, 268.
122. Ramírez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II*, 85–86.
123. For examples, see AGN Comptos, Caj. 126, no.57, 4 dated June 15, 1428, at Olite, and document Caj.128, no.14, 16 dated May 5, 1429, at Pamplona.
124. AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.23, 2 (additional copies, nos.24–25) dated May 15, 1429, at Pamplona. Also reprinted in Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, 82.
125. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, 1975), 554.
126. Theresa Earenfight states that "it is fascinating to note how easily Juan delegated authority to his second wife, Juana Enríquez." She

- believes that the long-standing tradition of lieutenancy in Aragon gave Juan a “habit of co-rulership.” See Earenfight, *King’s Other Body*, 138–139.
127. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, “La reina Blanca y Navarra,” *Príncipe de Viana* 60 (1999), 323–340. Ramírez Vaquero notes Blanca had “considerable experience on her shoulders.”
 128. Ostolaza Elizando, “D.Juan de Aragón,” 596.
 129. Earenfight, *King’s Other Body*, 70–71.
 130. Iñigo Arzoz Mendizábal, “Algunas consideraciones sobre la cancelería de la reina Blanca de Navarra (1425–1441),” *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 29–30 (2005–6), 29.
 131. DME, Document 202, p.569 (AMSCI. Estella E-14) dated June 23, 1440, at Olite. Original text is “*Don Johan, por la gracia de Dios rey de Nauarra, infant d’Aragon et de Sicilia, duc de Nemours, de Montblanc, de Peynafe, conte de Ribagarça et senor de la cuidat de Ballaguer, et dona Blanca, por aqueilla mesma gracia reyna et heredera proprietaria del dicho regno, duquessa de los dichos ducados, contessa de los dichos contados et senora de la dicha ciudat de Ballaguer.*”
 132. Examples include AGN Comptos, Caj.132, no.21, 2 dated June 15, 1432, at Olite and AGN Comptos, Caj.131, no.47, 7 dated September 18, 1431.
 133. Ramírez Vaquero, “La reina Blanca y Navarra,” 331.
 134. William Monter also noticed this division of signatory duties and compiled a table to highlight this situation. See Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings*, 76.
 135. An example of Blanca’s individual address clause, which ends with “*por la reyna*” or “for the queen,” is AGN Comptos, Caj.132, no.6, 3 dated January 20, 1432, at Olite.
 136. An example of a document that started with the heading “*La Reyna*” or “The Queen” is AGN Comptos, Caj.130, no.28, 3 dated October 1, 1430, at Estella.
 137. A surviving example of their double seal can be found on AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.22, 1 dated February 13, 1426.
 138. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, Aguirre and Ochoa de Olza Eguiraun, *Sellos Medievales*, 1/95, 141.
 139. Juan did have his own seal, which he would have needed if Blanca retained their double seal in Navarre while he was in Castile and Aragon. See *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/103, 143.
 140. Ostolaza Elizondo, “D.Juan de Aragón y Navarra,” 597. Ostolaza Elizondo describes a visit in 1440 where Juan used his standing to receive the same treatment as the Castilian royals, including a guard of 12 footmen.
 141. Juana’s sarcophagus was originally placed in the Convent of San Francisco de Tudela but came to the Museo de Navarra (Pamplona) in 1956 where it can be seen today.

142. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, "La Fábrica de la Catedral de Pamplona: Una Obra Pública?" in *Tecnología y Sociedad: Las Grandes Obras Públicas en la Europa Medieval* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1996), 219.
143. Ramírez Vaquero, "Obra publica," 230.
144. The late fifteenth-century chronicle of Villafañe-Pérez, quoted in P. Galindo Romeo, "Peregrinación de Doña Blanca de Navarra, en 1433, a Santa María del Pilar de Zaragoza", *Revista Zurita* 3 (1935), 1.
145. AGN Comptos, Caj. 133, no.17, 60 dated September 30, 1432.
146. See AGN Comptos, Caj.139, no.29, 2 dated September 4, 1436, at Tafalla for requiem masses for her parents. AGN Comptos Caj, 131, no.56, 5 dated November 22, 1431, is for masses to be said at Tudela, the burial place of the early kings of Navarre. AGN Comptos Caj.128, no.44, 6 dated December 14, 1429, at Olite donated money for the establishment of a canon.
147. Records of her internment there can be found in AGN CO. Papeles Sueltos, 1st Series, Leg.1, no.1. Within Navarre, Blanca visited Santa Maria del Rocamador in Estella, Santa Brígida in Olite, and Santa Maria de Ujué; Javier Fortún, *Sedes Reales de Navarra*, 208.
148. AGN Comptos Caj.135, no.36 dated September 27, 1433, at Tudela.
149. Transcribed in Galindo Romeo, "Peregrinación", p.9.
150. María Narbona Cárceles, "Ay!...las divisas de Carlos de Evreux, Principe de Viana," *Príncipe de Viana* 253 (2011), 371.
151. AGN Comptos, Caj.126, no.10, 9 for the Frenchwoman and Caj.131, no.23, 5 (1-2) dated April 26, 1431, for the Flemish group.
152. Bianchini, *Queen's Hand*, 107.
153. Maria Raquel García Arancón, "El personal femenino del hostel de la reina Blanca de Navarra," in *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media*, ed. Angela Muñoz Fernandez and Cristina Segura Graino (Madrid: Al-Mudanya, 1988), 27-41.
154. García Arancón, "El personal femenino," 28-29 and 40.
155. Fernando Serrano Larráyo, "Astrologos y Astrologia al Servicio de la Monarquia Navarra durante la Baja Edad Media (1350-1446)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 39, no.2 (2009), 539-554. See also Serrano Larráyo, "La Casa y la mesa de la reina Blanca de Navarra (1433)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 30, no.1 (2000), 157-234.
156. Serrano Larráyo, "Casa y mesa," 160.
157. See AGN Comptos Caj.125, no.3, 10 dated January 13, 1426, Caj.126, no.15, 5 dated July 15, 1427, at Pamplona, Caj.138, no.13, 1 dated October 12, 1435, at Olite and Caj.138, no.1, 44 (1) dated March 2, 1436.
158. AGN Comptos Caj.138, no.14, 49 dated February 10, 1436.
159. AGN Comptos Caj.132, no.4 (1-2) dated January 20, 1432, at Tafalla and the possible revocation Caj.132, no.4, 2 (2) dated January 17, 1438 at Olite.
160. This includes a massive list compiled by the painter entitled "These are the things which are necessary for the work that my lady Queen

- orders made," AGN Comptos, Caj.146, no.44, 4 dated 1433. Other receipts include Caj.146, no.44, 2 (1) dated January 17, 1434, at Tudela and includes both the queen's signature and the painter's (which had a little face drawn within the signature's flourish). A recent article that examines Blanca's patronage is Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "El honor de la Corona: Los encargos artísticos de la reina Blanca de Navarra (1425-1441)," *Goya* 334 (2011), 40-57.
161. AGN Comptos Caj.133, no.25, 47 dated June 16, 1434, Caj.133, no.19, 47 dated December 19, 1433, and Caj.134, no.14, dated December 18, 1433, at Tudela.
 162. AGN Comptos Caj.146, no.10, 14 (1) dated April 28, 1434, at Olite.
 163. AGN Comptos Caj.147, no.15, 20 dated April 13, 1442, at Olite.
 164. AGN Comptos Caj.128, no.43, 9 dated December 10, 1429, at Olite and Caj.139, no.5, 3 dated February 19, 1436, at Tudela.
 165. For works at Olite see AGN Comptos Caj.142, no.13, 10 dated March 16, 1439, at Olite and Caj.147, no.6, 59 for the 14th of the same month. The works at Tudela can be found in Caj.135, no.33, 2 dated May 28, 1433.
 166. Lucian's exemption is AGN Comptos Caj.128, no.39, 4 dated November 20, 1429, at Olite. The queen twice sent requests to the treasury for Roberto to be paid his overdue salary; Caj.125, no.30, 8 dated October 17, 1426, at Tafalla and Caj.126, no.1, 5 dated January 22, 1427, at Olite.
 167. AGN Comptos, Caj. 138, no.8, 56 dated December 18, 1435, and Caj.138, no.9, 3 dated May 11, 1435.
 168. The expenses for hosting the ambassadors from Foix can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.134, no.20, folio 19 dated 1434. See also Campistol, "La cuestion," 12.
 169. AGN Comptos, Caj.146, no.32, dated September 22, 1434, and Caj.104, no.41 dated October 12, 1434, at Olite. The document provided for the exchange of several small territories and a dowry of 50,000 gold florins of Aragon. However, it must be noted that the Aragonese annalist Zurita claims that the marriage was finalized on December 22, 1434, and that Juan gave his confirmation much later on July 30, 1436 (Zurita, *Anales*, Vol 6, 79).
 170. Expenditure for the wedding includes AGN Comptos, Caj.142, no.13, 21-22/no.21, 4, and 40/Caj.144, no.4, 15 all dated between August 17, 1439, and February 18, 1440.
 171. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero and Pascual Tamburri, *El Príncipe de Viana* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2001), 23.
 172. C. A. J. Armstrong, "La politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois," in *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. C. A. J. Armstrong (London: Hambledon, 1983), 252. Armstrong does note, however, that this pledge of succession went against the Treaty of Arras of 1435, which limited the succession to

- male heirs. Agnes's dowry is listed as 200,000 francs, 32 *gros monnaie de Flandre* (331).
173. Diago Hernando, "Política y guerra," 527–550.
 174. AGN Comptos, Caj.110, no.18, 54, 55, 58, 62, no.19, 4,6,59, no.22, 44, 61, 70, no.22, 83, 85, no.23, 11, 36; all dated between August 6 and December 2, 1429. In one example, 300 libras were paid for men at arms; AGN Comptos, Caj.128, no.20,7; dated August 5, 1429, at Tafalla.
 175. Compensation of 120 libras had to be paid out to local residents for losses incurred from the Castilian capture of Corella; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3, 49–51, dated January 21–23, 1430.
 176. AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.1, 27, dated June 13, 1430.
 177. Juan Carrasco Pérez, "Moneda y fiscalidad en el reinado de Blanca de Navarrel monedaje a las "acuñaciones de guerra" (1428–1432)," *Príncipe de Viana* 64 (2003), 577.
 178. Simón de Leoz, Blanca's secretary was compensated for trips to Castile in August and December 1430; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3,4 dated August 17, 1430, and Caj.111, no.12, 36 dated December 22, 1430. Blanca's confessor Pedro Beraiz, Archbishop of Tiro was compensated for similar trips in February and August of 1430; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3, 33 dated February 8, 1430, and Caj.111, no.3, 5 dated August 22, 1430. There is also a messenger compensated for delivering "secret letters" to the King of Castile; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3,2 dated September 8, 1430.
 179. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 168.
 180. The treaty can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj. 129, no.32 dated July 25, 1430, at Majano.
 181. Blanca's secretary Simon de Leoz was again sent on missions to Castile in 1432 and 1434; AGN Comptos, Caj. 133, no.16, 2 dated February 1, 1432, and no.18, 6 dated April 30, 1434. In 1435 there are records of six missions to Castile, all sent by Blanca; AGN Comptos, Caj.138, nos.9, 15, 17, 27, 36–37.
 182. Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, 82–83.
 183. Additional detail on the marital arrangements can be found in Zurita, Vol 6, 134–135.
 184. Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, 82.
 185. W. D. J. Phillips, *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile* (Cambridge, MA: 1978), 35.
 186. Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia; Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 317–319.
 187. Enrique Flórez, *Memorias de las Reinas Católicas*. Vol. 2 (Madrid, 1761. Reprint, Valladolid, 2002), 738–741.
 188. The expenses for this wedding can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.144. The examples include the city of Tafalla's contribution to the wedding expenses (Caj.144, no.10, 2–3 dated April 20, 1440 at

- Olite) and the dinner set expenses (Caj.144, no.19, 4 dated July 1, 1440 at Olite).
189. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, "Los restos de la reina Blanca de Navarra y sus funerales en Pamplona," *Príncipe de Viana* 57 (1996), 345–358.
 190. Ramírez Vaquero, "Los restos," 345.
 191. However, Clara Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé has suggested that Blanca was not buried at Santa Maria de Nieva but that her physical remains were interred in the Cathedral of Pamplona during the funerary ceremonies of April–May 1441; Clara Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, "Obispos y Reyes, Promotores de la Catedral de Pamplona," *Cuadernos de la Cátedra de Patrimonio y Arte Navarro* 2 (2007), 229.
 192. Regarding Leonor's desire to move her mother's remains to Tafalla, see Ramírez Vaquero, "Los restos," 354–55. On the recent request for Blanca's remains to be returned to Navarre, see Francisco Forjas, "Navarra reclama los restos de doña Blanca," *El País*, April 8, 1995. The official chronicler of Santa Maria de Nieva wrote an impassioned editorial piece in 2008 arguing that her remains should stay in Castile, see Felipe Molinero Rodríguez, "Los restos de Blanca de Navarra descansan en la iglesia parroquial," *El Norte de Castilla*, September 13, 2008. However, it may be that the bones attributed to the queen are not in fact Blanca's remains as DNA testing on these remains and those believed to be that of her son Carlos revealed that neither appeared to have been correctly identified; see Nerea Alejos, "Los restos atribuidos al Príncipe de Viana y a su madre, la reina Blanca de Navarra, son falsos," *Diario de Navarra*, September 10, 2008. Indeed in "Los Restos" Ramírez Vaquero notes the confusion and ambiguous language of some of the documentary evidence, which casts doubt over where her body may be today.
 193. See Ramírez Vaquero, "Los restos," 350–354, and Osés Urricelqui "Ceremonias Funerarias," 117–118. Osés Urricelqui notes that 6,791.20 *libras* were spent for the elaborate funeral ceremonies, including 606.20 *libras* on lighting alone. Expenditure for the ceremonial can be found largely in AGN Comptos Reg. 447, fol.30r–32v.

5 Leonor: Civil War and Sibling Strife

1. Blanca's will is AGN Comptos Caj. 161, no.4 dated February 17, 1439.
2. DME, Document number 187, dated June 4, 1422, at Olite, 521–522 (AME, Fondos Especiales, no.188).
3. Ramírez Vaquero, "La reina Blanca y Navarra," *Príncipe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999), 336–339.
4. Javier Leralta, *Apodos Reales: Historia y Leyenda de Los Motes Regios* (Madrid, 2008), 345–346.
5. Linde Brocato, "Leveraging the Symbolic in the Fifteenth Century: The Writings, Library and Court of Carlos de Viana," *La Coronica*

- 40, no.2 (2012), 57, citing José María Lacarra, *El reino de Navarra entre Francia y España* (Pamplona: Aranzadi, 1973), 250. There is a document in the AGN that testifies to Carlos's attempts to use the matrimonial agreement of his parents to argue that Juan had to rescind the Navarrese title; Carlos's request to view the document is AGN Comptos Caj.154, no.62, 6 dated Oct 12, 1448, at Olite.
6. Jamie Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon (1398–1479): Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1953), 138.
 7. María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, and Juan F. Utrilla Utrilla, *La Dinámica Política* (Madrid, 2005), 476.
 8. Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body: Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010), 138.
 9. Zurita, Vol. 6, 272.
 10. Townsend Miller, *Henry IV of Castile* (London, 1972), 65–70, and Zurita, Vol.7, 61–62.
 11. Zurita, Vol. 6, 242.
 12. See Miller, *Henry IV*, 20–28 for his full depiction of the wedding events.
 13. Zurita, Vol.7, 61–62. The verb “*hechizar*” means to cast a spell on or bewitch, while the term “*maleficio*” as in Latin means a curse or spell and was often cited as the basis of an accusation of witchcraft in the period.
 14. This divorce case created uncertainty about Enrique's ability to father children, leading to the insinuation that Juana was not the king's daughter, but the product of a liaison between Enrique's second wife, Juana of Portugal, and Beltrán de la Cueva.
 15. Daniel Eisenberg, “Enrique IV and Gregorio Marañón,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1976), 26.
 16. Eisenberg, “Enrique IV,” 28–29.
 17. Miller, *Henry IV*, 64–68.
 18. José Luis Martín, *Enrique IV: Rey de Navarra, Príncipe de Cataluña* (Hondarribia, 2003), 312–313.
 19. The document that granted a divorce between Blanca and Enrique IV of Castile is Simancas, Patronato Real ES.47161.AGS/3.2.48/PTR, LEG, 12, DOC.I, dated July 27, 1453. See also Fernando Videgáin Agós, *Blanca de Navarra: Reina sin Corona*. Vol. 185 Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular (Pamplona, 1982), 21.
 20. Zurita, Vol.7, 61–62.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Bisson, *Medieval Crown*, 148.
 23. Zurita, Vol.7, 147. See also Reglá J. Campistol, “La cuestion de los Pirineos a comienzos de la edad moderna: El intento imperialista de Gaston de Foix,” in *Relaciones Internacionales de España con Francia e Italia*, ed. Jaime Vicens Vives, Estudios de Historia Moderna (Barcelona, 1951), 13.
 24. AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.23, 1 dated August 9, 1427, at Pamplona.

25. Original text is “*en su grado, é en su lugar por Seyñora Reyna, é heredera*” and “*à falta de nuestra muy cara é muy amada fija sedo genita la Infanta Doña Blanca su hermana mayor.*”
26. Vicens Vives, *Juan II*, 158.
27. Leseur, 41. See also Zurita, Vol. 7, 148.
28. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 14.
29. Zurita, Vol. 7, 168. The agreement is Simancas Patronato Real 1.229.
30. Earenfight notes that he was a very popular lieutenant in contrast to his father who had continual problems with the Catalan *Corts* and nobility, Earenfight, *King's Other Body*, 138.
31. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 148, and Rábade Obradó et al., *Dinámica Política*, 477–78.
32. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 149. Carlos was released on February 25, 1461, and the document that included a promise to name Carlos as Juan's universal successor was signed at Villafranca on June 21, 1461.
33. Vicens Vives, *Juan II*, 211.
34. The Count of Armagnac was the son of Queen Blanca's sister Isabel; Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor de Navarra*, (Pamplona, 2002), 108–109.
35. Joseph Vassan and Étienne Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI, Roi de France*, 11 vols., vol. 2; 1461–1465 (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1885), 22.
36. Zurita, vol. 7, 372.
37. Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor de Navarra*, 110.
38. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 23.
39. See “Protesta de la Princesa Blanca,” parts 1 and 2. Full transcribed text available at <http://www.euskomedia.org/PDFAnlt/cmn/1922191195.pdf>. Original document Simancas, Patronato Real, ES.47161.AGS/3.2.48/PTR, LEG, 12, DOC.12, dated April 23, 1462.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Simancas, Patronato Real ES.47161.AGS/3.2.48/PTR, LEG, 12, DOC.11, dated April 30, 1462.
44. Luis Suárez Fernández, “Fernando el Católico y Leonor de Navarra,” *En la España Medieval* 3 (1982), 621.
45. See Joseph Calmette, *La question des Pyrénées et la marche d'Espagne au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1947), 81; Enrique Flórez, *Memorias De Las Reinas Católicas*. 2 vols (Madrid, 1761; reprint, Valladolid, 2002), Vol. 2, 743–744; Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor de Navarra*, 110–112; Videgáin Agós, *Reina sin Corona*, and Zurita, Vol. 7, 408–410.
46. See my extended discussion of Leonor's reputation as a “sister slayer” in “Leonor of Navarre: The Price of Ambition,” in *Queenship, Gendered Power and Reputation*, ed. Rachel Gibbons (forthcoming).
47. Henri Courteault, *Gaston IV: Comte de Foix, Vicomte Souverain de Béarn, Prince de Navarre 1423–1472* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1895), 281–283.
48. Flórez, *Memorias*, 743.

49. See Núria Silleras-Fernández, "Queenship en la corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media: Estudio y propuesta terminológica," *La corónica* 32, no. 1 (2003), 121–129, and William Clay Stalls, "Queenship and the Royal Patrimony in Twelfth-Century Iberia: The Example of Petronilla of Aragon," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge, 1993), 49–62. Constanza was the granddaughter of Juana II of Navarre, through the marriage of Maria of Navarre and Pedro IV of Aragon. Pedro attempted to designate Contanza as his heir in 1347, but the Aragonese jurists ruled that she was ineligible to be named as her father's heir; see Earenfight, *King's Other Body*, 25–26.
50. Alfonso García Gallo, "El Derecho de Sucesion del Trono en la Corona de Aragon," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 36, no. 5 (1966), 123–124.
51. *Ibid.*, 96.
52. None of these queens passed the throne directly to a daughter. However, at particular moments, some of the queens did have a daughter as their nominated heir. For example, the Infanta Ana was Catalina's heiress for an extended period; this is reflected in the negotiations for her marriage, which will be discussed in chapter 6.
53. Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Les Femmes, le pouvoir et la transmission de pouvoir," in *La Femme au moyen-âge*, ed. Jean Heuclin and Michel Ruche (Maubeuge: Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, 1990), 366.
54. Bethany Aram, "Authority and Maternity in Late Medieval Castile: Four Queens Regnant," in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout, Belgium: Brill, 2007), 122–123, and Miriam Shadis, "Women, Gender and Rulership in Romance Europe: The Iberian Case" *History Compass* 4, no. 3 (2006), 483–485.
55. Miriam Shadis, "Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage and Succession," in *Medieval Motherhood*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), 336.
56. Bianchini, *Queen's Hand*, 178. Bianchini argues, "Femininity remained an imposing obstacle to sovereignty; with few exceptions, reigning queens could only reign in the company of a husband or son." Perhaps the widowed Juana II and Leonor form part of these exceptions. It is possible that as a widow, these queens were in a stronger position than Berenguela, whose marriage had been dissolved by the pope.
57. See Hans Eberard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* no. 26 (1972), 110–111 and 114–182.
58. Jaroslav Folda, "Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer: 1250–1300*," *Gesta* 32, no. 2 (1993), 101–104. See also Sarah Lambert, "Image of a Queen: Melisande and Her Heirs in the Illustrated Chronicles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in

- Juliana Dresvina, ed. *Authority and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), 140–165.
59. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 26.
 60. *Ibid.*, 28.
 61. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXIV, 373–376 dated May/June 1470.
 62. *Ibid.*, 373.
 63. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXV, dated August 1470, 379.
 64. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXVI, dated August 4, 1470, at Saint Martin de Candes, 383–384.
 65. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXVII, 384–386, dated September 27, 1470, from Corella.
 66. *Ibid.*, 385.
 67. *Ibid.*, 385–386.
 68. Zurita, Vol. 7, 645.
 69. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, 256.
 70. Favyn, 507.
 71. Prosper Boissonnade, *Histoire de la Réunion de la Navarre a la Castille (Essai sur les Relations de prince de Foix-Albret avec la France et l’Espagne)* (Genève, 1975), 11. See also Moret, Vol. 7, 10–11.
 72. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 23.
 73. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXI and XXXII, 366–370.
 74. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXI, 367.
 75. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXII, 368–370 contains Leonor’s instructions to her ambassador de Baquedano.
 76. The matrimonial contract for Jaime and Ana de Peralta is AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.25, 2 dated March 28, 1485, at Tafalla. Intriguingly, Catalina and Jean d’Albret only gave their assent to Jaime’s marriage several years later on October 11, 1493; AGN Comptos, Caj.193, no.25, 1 at Tarbes.
 77. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 10–11.
 78. See genealogical chart 4; Leonor and her descendants.
 79. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 26.
 80. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 27–28.
 81. Campistol, “La cuestion,” 29. Also Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France* (London, 1994), 14–15.
 82. For Gaston’s detailed instructions to his ambassadors to be relayed to the Duke of Brittany, see *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives, XXXIX, 387–391 (dated May 26, 1471, at Pau).
 83. *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives, XXXIX, 388.
 84. For Anne of Brittany, see Pauline Matarasso, *Queen’s Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2001), 51–75.

85. Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, 105. The marriage treaty also involved compensation for the Count of Foix's repurchase of the caplatat de Buch.
86. Christian Bourret, *Un royaume transpyrénéen? La tentative de la maison de Foix-Béarn-Albret à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Aspet, 1998), 84, note 4.
87. The name of the daughter in question is unclear, it could have been either Isabel, Ana, or Leonor.
88. Vassan and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, Letter DLXXXIX, 256–262.
89. Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, 174.
90. Zurita, Vol. 7, 148. See also *Histoire de Gaston IV*, 41.
91. Moret, Vol. 7, 14.
92. For details see Moret, Vol. 7, 14–16, and Favyn, 589–590.
93. Zurita, Vol. 7, 702.
94. Zurita, Vol. 7, 185–186.
95. Zurita, Vol. 7, 702, and Moret, Vol. 7, 36.
96. Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, 169.
97. Jimeno Jurio and Jimeno Aranguren, *Tafalla*; AMT Libro 344, nos. 18, 25, 27–8, 30–32, 34–38, 40–41, dated between June 17, 1465 and November 3, 1475.
98. Leonor's aunt, Maria of Castile, had similar difficulties in Catalonia as Alfonso of Aragon's lieutenant as the Catalans repeatedly challenged her right to hold *Corts*; see Earenfight, *King's Other Body*, 58.
99. Advance warning was given in AMT Libro 344, no. 31 dated October 29, 1471, at Tafalla.
100. F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, Mikel Ramos Ramos Aguirre, and Esperanza Ochoa de Olza Eguiraun, *Sellos Medievales de Navarra: Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona, 1995), 59.
101. DME, Document 222, dated December 22, 1475, at Tudela, 610–612 (AME Fondos Especiales, num. 77).
102. DME, Document 222, dated December 22, 14756 at Tudela, 611 (AME Fondos Especiales, num. 77).
103. AGN Comptos, Caj 161, no. 10 dated September 18, 1469, at Pamplona. Original text is "*Dona Leonor por la gracia de dios princessa primogenita heredera de Navarra Infanta daragon et de Sicilia contessa de fox et de begorra Señora de Bearn lugartiente general por el Rey mi muy Reduptable Señor e padre en este su Regno de Navarra.*"
104. Pidal de Navascués et al., *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, picture 1/22 (signature) and 1/120 (*sello secreto*), 148–149.
105. The examples include AGN Comptos Caj. 158, no. 64 dated September 27, 1469, at Pamplona, AGN Comptos Caj. 162, no. 9 dated December 7, 1470, at Olite, AGN Comptos, Caj. 162, no. 3, dated September 18, 1470, at Olite, and AGN Comptos Caj. 130, no. 10, 2 dated October 27, 1470, also at Olite.
106. See AGN Comptos, Caj. 172, no. 9, 9, 11–14 and 21 dated January 16 to February 4, 1464. The order to dispatch 300 men is Caj. 172, no. 9, 13.
107. Campistol, "La cuestion," 30.

108. Gaston's will, dated July 9, 1472, is reprinted in full in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pièces Justificatives XLII, 393–395.
109. Zurita, Vol.8, 328.
110. Moret, Vol.7, 41.
111. Moret, Vol.7, 39.
112. Zurita, Vol.8, 226–227.
113. Zurita, Vol.8, 361.
114. Zurita, Vol.7, 702. See also Prosper Boissonnade, *Histoire de la Réunion de la Navarre a la Castille (Essai sur les Relations de prince de Foix-Albret avec la France et l'Espagne)* (Geneva, 1975), 10–11. Boissonnade notes that Zurita was “the only historian who recounts these obscure intrigues” (*Réunion*, p.10, note 6).
115. AGN Comptos Caj. 162, no.55, fol 32 r. Passages from this missive are reprinted in Suárez Fernández, “Fernando el Católico,” 630–631.
116. Suárez Fernández, “Fernando el Católico,” 629.
117. Luis Suárez Fernández and Juan de Mata Carriazo Arroquia (eds.), *La España de los reyes católicos (1474–1516)*, Historia de España (Madrid, 1969), 202–203.
118. Suárez Fernández, *Politica Internacional De Isabel La Catolica I*, document 29, dated October 4, 1476, at Tudela (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.55). See also Boissonnade, *Réunion*, 14–15.
119. Suárez Fernández. *Politica Internacional De Isabel La Catolica I*, document 30 dated October 4, 1476, at Tudela (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.56).
120. Boissonnade, *Réunion*, 15
121. Zurita, Vol.8, 298.
122. Zurita, Vol.8, 299.
123. The text of Leonor's ultimatum is printed in N. Coll Julia, “El dilema franco-español de Doña Leonor de Navarra,” *Príncipe de Viana* 13 (1952), 417–418. Coll Julia lists the original document as Archivo Historico Ciudad Barcelona, Cartas Reals Originales, 1476–1484, 204. Original text is “*la mas hoberdiente fija que nunca nascio*.” See also Zurita, Vol.8, 343–344.
124. Zurita, Vol. 8, 78. See also Moret, Vol.7, 28–29.
125. Ramirez Vaquero, *Leonor*, 175.
126. Zurita, Vol. 8, 78.
127. Zurita, Vol.8, 344.
128. Moret, Vol.7, 42.
129. Zurita, Vol. 8, 360, and Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, 193–194. Original text is “*reina de Navarra, infanta de Aragón y de Sicilia, duquesa de Nemours, de Gandía, de Montblanch y de Peñafiel, condesa de Bigorra y de Ribagorza y señora de Balaguer*.”
130. Favyn, 593, and Moret, Vol. 7, 44. The traditional coronation site for Navarrese monarchs was in the Cathedral of Pamplona, although Leonor may not have had access to the city if it was still in rebel hands. Moret

notes that the coronation took place only nine days after Juan's death. This may mean that the coronation took place hastily or that Leonor was well prepared for the event, given Juan's age and deteriorating health.

131. Moret, Vol.7, 44.

6 Catalina I: Unequal to the Task?

1. Álvaro Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix o la Defensa del Estado Navarro* (Pamplona, 2005).
2. Raoul Anthony and Henri Courteault, *Les testaments des derniers rois de Navarre: François Phébus, 1483, Madeleine de France, 1493, Catherine de Foix, 1504, Jean d'Albret, 1516, Anne d'Albret, 1532: teste béarnais* (Toulouse, 1940), 35.
3. Moret, Vol.7, 91.
4. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra: La Baja Edad Media*, Colección Temas de Navarra, vol. II (Pamplona, 1993), 102–3.
5. Luis Suárez Fernández, "Fernando el Católico y Leonor de Navarra," *En la España Medieval* 3 (1982), 637.
6. Letter dated August 7, 1472, from La Guierche, number MMLVI in Vassan and Étienne Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, Vol. 10, 333–334.
7. Moret, vol. 7, p.90.
8. Ibid.
9. José María Jimeno Jurio, *Archivo Municipal de Tafalla. Libros de Actos y Ordenanzas de la Villa de Tafalla (1480–1509), Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco 101* (Donostia, 2000), 23. Document no. 21-b, dated February 2, 1483, at Tafalla.
10. Zurita, Vol. 8, 467.
11. AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.30 dated March 29, 1489, at Orthez.
12. Léon Cadier, *Les États du Béarn depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1886), 183.
13. Christian Bourret, *Un royaume transpyrénéen? La tentative de la maison de Foix-Béarn-Albret à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Aspet, 1998), 87.
14. Moret, Vol.7, 103–106.
15. Cadier, *Les États du Béarn*, 316 (Original document listed as ADPA C680).
16. The letter dated from Montargis on October 2, 1484, is printed in Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620* (Bordeaux, 1961), 175–176.
17. AGN Comptos, Caj.177, no.20, dated September 7, 1497, at Tarbes. The treaty is also reprinted in Prosper Boissonnade, *Histoire de la Réunion de la Navarre a la Castille (Essai sur les Relations de prince de Foix-Albret avec la France et l'Espagne)* (Geneva, 1975), 590–59, (ADPA E547) which is helpful as the AGN copy is damaged and partially illegible.
18. Boissonnade, *Réunion*, 595.
19. Moret, Vol.7, 214.

20. Bourret, *Un royaume transpyrénéen*, 92.
21. Ibid., 95.
22. Germana's marriage was part of the Treaty of Blois, which was signed between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1505. Ferdinand took the "extremely beautiful" 18-year-old Germana as his second wife on March 18, 1506. See Moret, Vol.7, 173–175.
23. Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, 105.
24. Moret, Vol.7, 282.
25. The Treaty of Blois, signed on July 17, 1512, is reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 361–362 (Original provenance ADPA E.554). Catalina and Jean dispatched their ambassadors to treat with the French king in May; see Javier Baleztena, *Documentos Navarros en los Archivos Nacionales Franceses de París* (Pamplona, 1978), no.510, 239.
26. On Germana's life, see Marqués de Cruïlles, *Noticias y Documentos relativos a Doña Germana de Foix, última Reina de Aragón* (Valencia, 2007). For a letter from the King of France to Germana on the subject of her rights to Foix and the Duchy of Nemours, see Boissonnade, *Réunion*, document XXXIV, dated June 1512, 635–636 (AGS Patronato Real, leg.2).
27. The full text of this undated document from the Simancas archives is reprinted in de Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix*, 235–239.
28. Anthony and Courteault, *Les testaments*, 35. Zurita claims that "many of the principal citizens of this Kingdom, especially the Beaumonts, wanted to be free from the subjection of the French"; Zurita, Vol.8, 424.
29. Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, 82–83.
30. Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power 1492–1793* (London, 2002), 37.
31. F. Santamaria Rekarte, "Intentos de recuperación del reino de Navarra por la dinastía de los Albret (1512–1521)," in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. Contamine and O. Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1996), 97–107.
32. On the young king's controversial death, see F. M. Pidal de Navascués, "La muerte de Francisco Fébo, Rey de Navarra," *Príncipe de Viana* 16 (1955), 36–38 and 42, Favyn., 603; Moret, Vol. 7, 75.
33. The texts of these negotiations can be found in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, 568–578.
34. Favyn, 605. Note that the use of the term "orphan" refers to the death of her father as her mother was still very much alive.
35. Favyn, 604.
36. Moret, Vol.7, 98.
37. Moret, Vol.7, 92.
38. Cadier, *Les États du Béarn*, Piece Justificative XIV, dated September 1483, 426–429. Original document listed as BN, Collection Dont, vol. 223, fol. 330.

39. Cadier, *Les États du Béarn*, Piece Justificative III, dated September 9, 1483, 425–426. Original document listed as ADPA E543.
40. Béatrice Leroy and Jean-Pierre Barraqué, *De L'Aquitaine à L'Ébre: Les liens Franco-Espagnols à l'époque medievale* (Anglet, 2002), 123.
41. Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France* (London, 1994), 189.
42. Leroy and Barraqué, *De L'Aquitaine à L'Ébre*, 140.
43. The full text of this document is reprinted in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, Document V, 580–581.
44. Moret, Vol. 7, 109.
45. Pierre Narbaitz, *Navarra: O cuando los Vascos tenían reyes*. Trans. Elena Barberena (Tafalla, 2007), 483.
46. Favyn, 604.
47. Yanguas y Miranda, Leg. 1, Carp. 27 dated July 30, 1483. See also Pierre Tucoo-Chala, *Histoire du Béarn* (Paris, 1962), 19.
48. Yanguas y Miranda, Leg. 1, Carp. 26, dated 1483.
49. Yanguas y Miranda, Leg 1. Carp. 28, dated July 30, 1483. Original text is “*la paz e beneficio.*”
50. Zurita, Vol.8, 468–469.
51. Yanguas y Miranda, Leg 1, Carp. 29, dated March 5, 1484, at Tafalla.
52. Tucoo-Chala, *La Vicomté du Béarn*, 104.
53. Moret, Vol.7, 109, Adot Lerga in *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 335–336, and Favyn, 677. These accounts, both Spanish and French, portray Jean as a handsome, elegant, learned, and refined gentleman.
54. AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated May 15, 1329, at Olite.
55. Tucoo-Chala, *La Vicomté du Béarn*, 98–99.
56. Anthony and Courteault, *Les testaments*, 17.
57. Favyn, 604.
58. Anthony suggests that Jean d'Albret was born in 1477 (*Les testaments*, 19), although he is the only source that suggests this date. If this were the case, it would explain the delayed consummation of the marriage, but it would severely undermine Magdalena's previous refusal of Juan of Castile on the grounds of his age.
59. See AGN Comptos, Caj.176, no.13 dated September 24, 1486, at San Juan Pie del Puerto that names Alain d'Albret as the young couple's governor. Cardinal Pierre (Pedro) of Foix was reconfirmed as viceroy during one of their periods of absence in 1498; AGN Comptos, Caj.164, no.1 dated August 18, 1498.
60. See the agreements with Ferdinand and Isabel of January 1494 and the Treaty of Medina del Campo, April 19, 1494, which are reprinted in full in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 339–340 and 340–341. (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.58 and AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.17).
61. Favyn remarks on Magdalena's good governance and insinuates that her death marks the start of a disastrous chain of events leading to the

annexation (See 623). Moret also lauds Magdalena's character declaring "She was a strong woman from the proverbs of Solomon, which is rarely seen in the world" (132). Moret also hails Magdalena as a "royal matron" and praises her constancy in widowhood, remaining faithful to the memory of her husband and focusing on the needs of her children.

62. Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 102.
63. Zurita, Vol.8, 491. Moret also comments that the move to reconcile with the Beaumonts was made "according to the direction and counsel of his father Señor d'Albret" (Vol.7, 113).
64. Florencio Idoate, *Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la Sección de Guerra, Documentos años 1259-1800* (Pamplona, 1978), Documents 17 & 18, dated February 8 & 9, 1485 at Pau, 8.
65. See AGN Comptos, Caj.176, no.13 dated September 24, 1486, at San Juan Pie del Puerto and Moret, Vol.7, 114.
66. Moret, Vol.7, 115. Alain's ambitions and projects in Brittany meant that he sometimes deputized his brother to govern the realm in his absence.
67. AGN Comptos, Caj.193, no.31, 2 dated October 1, 1489, from Olite.
68. Moret describes Alain's visit to Valencia in detail in Vol.7, 119-120.
69. See the full text of this agreement in the original and in translation in Frances G. Davenport, "Agreement by Ferdinand and Isabella Respecting the Town and Fortress of Lumbier in Navarre," *The Hispanic American History Review* 3, no. 1 (1920), 43-46.
70. The text of the agreement is reprinted in Adot Lerga, Document 1, 337, and Zurita, Vol.8, 543-544. Original text is "*Alam señor de Labrit conde de Dreux, de Gaura, de Pontievre y de Peyregorz, vizconde de Limoges e de Tartas e capdal de Buch e señor de Danuenas en Henaut. Por cuanto la ilustre señora doña Madalena princesa de Viana e los muy ilustres señores don Juan e doña Catalina rey e reina de Navarra sus hijos.*"
71. See Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 92-97.
72. Moret, Vol. 7, 118.
73. Ibid., 117 and 122-124.
74. Suárez Fernández claims that preventing French control of Brittany was one of Ferdinand and Isabel's key policy aims; Suárez Fernández, *Política de Isabel II*, 71-72.
75. The letter, dated October 11, 1490, is reprinted in Suárez Fernández, *Política de Isabel III*, Document 53, 228-229. Alain's information may have been slightly out of date as Isabel and Ferdinand had issued a document on July 3, 1490, from Cordoba concerning a peace agreement with and within Navarre. Reprinted in *Política de Isabel III*, document 41, 192-199 (AGS Registro del Sello, 1490-VII, fol.20).
76. Reprinted in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, document XVIII, pp.39-40 (ADPA E559). Moret also discusses this episode in Vol.7, 165-166.
77. Moret, Vol.7, 281.

78. Adot Lerga argues that the accession of Juana “la Loca” and her husband Philip of Flanders in 1506 created an opportunity for Catalina and Jean to shrug off the protectorate and escape from the increasingly hostile policies of Ferdinand of Aragon, see Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 191–195. A treaty of alliance was signed between Philip and Juana of Castile and Catalina and Jean d’Albret on August 27, 1506, at Tudela (ADPA E. 552, reprinted in Boissonnade and Adot Lerga), however, Philip’s death the following month and Ferdinand’s resumption of power in Castile as Juana’s regent put a swift end to this possibility.
79. Suárez Fernández, *Política de Isabel II*, 72.
80. This treaty was signed at Medina del Campo on April 19, 1494. The full text of the treaty is reproduced in Adot Lerga, 340–341. (AGS, Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.58).
81. Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 122. The full text of the agreement is reproduced on pp.338–339 (AGS, Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.60).
82. Ladero Galán remarks that “everything was done in order to prevent a rapprochement between Navarre and the French”; A. Ladero Galán, “La Frontera de Perpiñan: Nuevos datos sobre la primera guerra del Rosellón,” *En la España Medieval* 27 (2004), 225–283.
83. The full text of the treaty is printed in Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 343–344 (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.24).
84. Lopez de Meneses includes a quote from the Extracto del Libro de Olite that marked the birth and baptismal celebrations for Magdalena’s birth on “the 29th of March between two and three o’clock” in 1494. Amada Lopez de Meneses, “Magdalena y Catalina de Albret-Foix, Infantas de Navarra,” *Hispania* 97 (1965), 5. This suggests that Catalina would have been heavily pregnant during her coronation on January 12, 1494.
85. Lopez de Meneses notes expenditure for the princess during her stay in Castile, including clothing, shoes, and even jewelry, which seem to indicate that she was treated according to her rank. “Infantas de Navarra”, 7–8.
86. Moret, Vol.7, 169, and Lopez de Meneses, “Infantas de Navarra,” 11.
87. Anthony and Courteault, *Les testaments*, 21. Catalina also mentions this marriage in a letter to the Prior of Roncevalles written on December 15, 1496, at Pau; AGN Comptos, Caj. 166, no.25.
88. Jean d’Albret appears to have issued a reprimand to the city of Tudela for its opposition to Ana’s marriage to the son of Jean de Narbonne, see Yanguas y Miranda, Leg.1, Carp.30 dated November 1, 1496, at Pamplona.
89. Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 163.
90. The treaty is reprinted in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, Document XV, 605–607 (AGS, Patronato Real, Leg.2, fol.14).

91. See genealogical chart in the appendices; the sons noted here are Jean (b/d.1496), Andres Febo (b.1501/d.1503), and Enrique (b.1503/d.1555). In addition, there is the possibility that she gave birth to another two sons, an unnamed son (b/d. 1498), another unnamed son (b/d/1500), but these are difficult to confirm.
92. The letter is printed in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, Document XVII, dated July 2, 1503, 608 (ADPA E 549).
93. The full text of the treaty is reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 346–351 and also in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, Doc. XIX, 610–618. (ADPA E 550).
94. The marriage must have been under discussion within six months of the Infante's birth, see Yanguas y Miranda Leg. 1, Carp. 31, dated December 23, 1503, at Pamplona. Also noted in Yanguas y Miranda, Leg. 1, Carp. 31, dated 1504 at Pamplona.
95. Moret, Vol.7, 282.
96. Ultimately, Renée of France married Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara and Isabel of Flanders married Christian II of Denmark.
97. Richard Bonney, *The European Dynastic States 1494–1660* (Oxford, 1991), 90–91, John Huxtable Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (New York, 1964), 140–141, and Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*. Vol. 2; 1410–1516 “Castillian Hegemony.” 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), 564–569.
98. Moret, Vol.7, 133.
99. See Fiona Harris Stoertz, “Young Women in France and England 1050–1300,” *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (2001), 23–46.
100. Moret, Vol.7, 293.
101. From the excerpt in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 335; translated as “others despised him and held him in little esteem for his excessive softness, of the kind which there are in France, where the princes are very manual*, are foreign to the lofty arrogance of some Spanish knights, although [they look for] honest gravity, moderation and restraint before giving their approval which is very good in all men, especially princes and above all kings, who should rightly be revered and obeyed as people made by the hand of God for such a high throne and majesty, to judge and govern the world.” *Note: the word I would like to suggest for *manuales* is “hands on” or “touchy feely”; although both words are arguably slang, I believe they convey Garibay's sentiment that the French princes are excessively tactile with or physically close to their subjects.
102. Favyn, 677 and Moret, Vol.7, 157–158. A longer excerpt from Favyn is “governance in the French style is completely opposite to the Spanish. In France the familiar presence of our monarchs delights the French and gives them the love and the reverence [of their subjects]. In Spain if their kings showed themselves every day they would be despised by their people.”. The full context of the second quote, from Moret

is “what was very intolerable was his inconsequence in the decorum of his royal person, because it was too simple, which greatly reduced his authority, speaking to his vassals and others familiarly as if he was not a king but a certain knight, so much so that he did not mend matters by going to common parties and his delight was dancing with women and girls at these places . . . And it is true to say that it greatly displeased sane and upright men these French manners, where their kings are too familiar with the vassals.”

103. Favyn, 615–616. Favyn describes the coronation regalia as “two golden crowns garnished with rich jewels” or “*deux Coronnes d’or garnies de riche pierrerie*.”
104. The only surviving version of these documents is a certified copy from 1544, although the original document dates to January 12, 1494; AGN Papeles Sueltos (PS), 1st Series, Leg.1, no.7 at Pamplona.
105. Favyn, 613.
106. Esteban de Garibay quoted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 335.
107. AGN Comptos, Caj.166, no.25 dated December 15, 1496, at Pau; reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 344–345, and Boissonnade, *Réunion*, document XI, 588–590.
108. Reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 345 (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms.18.691/108).
109. Original text is “*El rey de Navarra, vuestro obediente sobrino Johan*.”
110. Original text is “*la reyna vuestra sobrina, mi muy cara y amada muger*.”
111. AGN Comptos, Caj.177, no.20, dated September 7, 1497, at Tarbes. The treaty is also reprinted in full Boissonnade, *Réunion*, 590–595 (ADPA E547), which is helpful as the AGN copy is damaged and partially illegible.
112. AGN Comptos, Caj.177, no.4 dated May 3, 1496, at Pamplona. See also Goñi Gaztambide, *Catedral de Pamplona*, Document no.2131, 505.
113. Goñi Gaztambide, *Catedral de Pamplona*, Document no.2141, dated February 26, 1498, 507.
114. Munita Loinaz, “Regesta documental del monasteria de La Oliva (1132–1526),” *Príncipe de Viana* 56, no.205 (1995), 461–466. Joint documents are 458 (dated September 24, 1486 at San Juan Pie de Puerto), 464 (dated May 18, 1493, at San Juan Pie de Puerto), 465 (dated February 21, 1494), and 467 (dated October 30, 1494 at Pamplona). Jean’s sole charters are 468 (dated September 2, 1495) and 471 (dated March 14, 1497).
115. Munita Loinaz, “La Oliva”; Joint documents are 472 (dated November 17, 1498, at Pamplona) and 474 (dated March 18, 1499, at Pamplona). Catalina’s sole charters at 475 (dated August 20, 1499, at Pamplona), 476 (dated April 7, 1500 at Pamplona), 483 (dated January 27, 1503), and 484 (dated February 20, 1503, at Sangüesa).

116. A transcript of the inventory can be found in Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "Plateria medieval en la catedral de Pamplona según un inventario de 1511," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 16 (2007), 71–84.
117. Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 294.
118. ADPA E552, 1505–1509.
119. See examples in Alan M. Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, GA: 1990), 326 and 340 (nos. 22 and 24) and in Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales*, plate LXXII, no. 7.
120. Stahl, "Coinage," 326.
121. Stahl, "Coinage," 326.
122. See Pidal de Navascués et al., *Sellos Medievales*, 1/130, 1/131 and 1/132, p.151. The shield bears the arms of Navarre, Foix, Bearn, Evreux, Bigorre, Aragon, Castile, and Leon. A clear surviving example can be found on AGN Comptos, Caj.193, no.30 dated March 29, 1489, at Orthez.
123. Catalina's individual seal was 62 mm in diameter and bore the title "Katherine by the grace of God, Queen of Navarre, Countess of Foix and Lady of Bearn." Jean's seal was slightly smaller at 60 mm and bore the wording "Jean by the grace of God, King of Navarre." See *Sellos Medievales de Navarra* 1/131 and 1/132, p.151.
124. See Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 299–312, and Álvaro Adot Lerga, "Itinerario de los reyes privativos de Navarra: Juan III de Albret-Catalina I de Foix," *Príncipe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999), 401–458.
125. AGN Comptos, Caj. 166, no.25, dated December 15, 1496, at Pau.
126. Catalina, Andrés Fébo, and Enrique all served as lieutenant at various points during their childhood; see Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 283–291. However, this was likely in name only as Catalina was approximately four years old during her lieutenancy while Andrés was an infant. Both Andrés and Enrique were the heirs apparent when they served as lieutenant while Catalina was second to Ana in the succession. This is an interestesting strategy that appears to draw on Aragonese precedents and also allay Navarrese concerns about the absence of the queen.
127. Moret, Vol.7, 157.
128. Favyn, 637. See also Moret, Vol. 7, 156.
129. For Ferdinand's letters to Catalina, see Boissonnade, *Réunion*, documents XX and XXX, 618–619 and 632 (ADPA E557 and E555).
130. From Jean's letter to Ferdinand, dated May 14, 1500, reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 346 (AGN, Guerra, leg.1, carp.1).
131. Favyn, 623.
132. Moret, Vol.7, 134.
133. Both excerpts reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 335–336.

134. Moret, Vol.7, 113.
135. Ibid., 134.
136. Ibid, 293.
137. Santamaria Rekarte, "Intentos de recuperación," 100.
138. John Robinson, *Modern history, for the use of schools: exhibiting a summary view of the rise, progress, revolutions, and present state of the various nations of the world, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the year 1807* (London, 1807), 484. Mostly likely derived from William Fordyce Mavor, *Universal history, ancient and modern: From the earliest records of time, to the general peace of 1801* (New York, 1805), Vol. 23, 386. Also copied in James Mitchell, *A Dictionary of Universal History, Chronology, and Historical Biography: Compiled from the Latest and Best Authorities* (London, 1823), 373. Mitchell incorrectly assumes the event took place in 1483, using the date in the sidebar of Robinson's book.
139. This quote, which is very unlikely to have come from the queen herself, has been requoted and repeated by many authors. It may have originated in Diderot's famous Enlightenment work the *Encyclopédie*; Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (Neufchastel, 1765), vol. 11, 48.
140. Henry Morley, *Clement Marot and Other Studies* (London, 1871), Vol. 1, 121.
141. Moret, Vol.7, 132.
142. Rachel Bard, *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom* (Reno, 1982), 80.
143. Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 293–295.
144. Leroy and Barraqué, *De L'Aquitaine a L'Èbre*, 140.
145. Raoul Anthony, "Un élément de critique chronologique á propos de documents émanant de la reine de Navarre Catherine de Foix," *Le Moyen Age* 4, no. 1 (1933), 28.
146. AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.30 dated March 29, 1489, at Orthez.
147. Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, 55–56.
148. Juan Carrasco Perez, Julio Valdeón Baroque, Josep Maria Salrach, and Maria Jesus Viguera, (eds.), *Historia de las Espanas Medievales* (Barcelona, 2002), 362.
149. Although it is not strictly relevant here, it should be noted that Cesar Borgia was nominally appointed as the Bishop of Pamplona in 1492, when he was only 15. His appointment was controversial, and there is little evidence that he had any concrete dealings with his bishopric. For more on Cesar as bishop, see Catalina and Jean's letter to Ferdinand and Isabel on the subject in Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 338, dated September 6, 1492 (BNM Manuscritos, 18.691/84). See also Moret, Vol.7, 130–131 and 148–153, Favyn, 660–661, and Bard, *Navarra*, 81.
150. Bourret, *Un royaume transpyreneen*, 241. The Borgia marriage and its ramifications are discussed in Michel Levasseur, *Histoire des d'Albrets et des rois de Navarre* (Biarritz, 2006), 239–243.
151. Ibid., 242.

152. Moret, Vol.7, 189–195.
153. Juan Pedro Iturrealde, “La muerte de Cesar Borgia,” *Pliegos de Rebotica* 90 (2007), 24–27.
154. Papal bull of Julius II, *Exigit contumacium* issued from Rome on February 18, 1513. Archivo General de Simancas, PTR, LEG.60,211.
155. Two such declarations of sanctions against Catalina and Jean, from January 1508 and January 1510 (documents 39 and 40) are reprinted in Tucoo-Chala, *La Vicomté du Béarn*, 176–178.
156. Ramirez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, 105, and Moret, Vol.7, 282–283.
157. Francisco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. and ed. Sidney Alexander (Princeton, NJ: 1968), 268.
158. The Treaty of Blois is reprinted in Adot Lerga, *Juan d’Albret y Catalina de Foix*, 361–362 (Original provenance ADPA E.554).
159. Antonio de Nebrija, *Historia de la Guerra de Navarra*, edición y prólogo del Duque de Alba, trans. and ed. José Lopez de Toro (Madrid, 1953), 42–43.
160. Letter of Louis XII to the rulers of Navarre, dated September 24, 1512, at Blois, reprinted in Boissonnade, *Réunion*, 653 (original document listed at Coll. Doat CCXXIX, fol. 220–222).
161. Rekarte, “Intentos de recuperación,” 102.
162. *Exigit contumacium*, as note 155.
163. Lopez de Menses, “Infantas de Navarra,” 22.
164. *Ibid.*, 25 and 29.
165. Catalina’s sons were also drawn into the Italian Wars. Her youngest son Charles was imprisoned at Pavia and later died in Naples in 1528. Anthony and Courteault, *Les testaments*, 94.
166. Lopez de Menses, “Infantas de Navarra,” 26–28. The full text of this agreement is reproduced in full on pages 35–38. The original provenance of the document is ADPA E 562. Moret incorrectly lists both Catalina as the Duke of Brunswick’s wife and her sister Ana as the wife of the Count of Candale. (Vol.7, 113).
167. Anthony and Courteault, *Les testaments*, 21. Anthony gives the documents provenance as ADPA E571. It is also worth noting at this time Ana also renounced her rights to her parents’ territories. Ana had frequently served as a lieutenant or governor for her mother, grandfather, and brother.
168. *Ibid.*, 22.
169. Nancy L. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d’Albret 1528–1572* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 44.
170. Roelker discusses the Cleves marriage at length, see Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, 46–62.
171. An interesting article that discusses Henri IV’s accession to the throne and its connection with Salic Law is Frederic J. Baumgartner, “The Case for Charles X,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4, no. 2 (1973), 87–98.

172. Isabel Perez Molina, *Honour and Disgrace: Women and the Law in Early Modern Catalonia* (e-book, USA, 2001), 67.
173. Constitución española, Sinopsis artículo 58. Note that the Constitution of 1812 contained a similar note about the powers of the king consort, even though the ban on Salic Law had not been publically repealed (it was removed in 1789 but this was not published as law). The 1812 constitution stated, "In the event that it falls to a woman to rule, her husband would have no authority with any respect to the kingdom, nor any part of the Government." The item quoted in the text was the 1876 version, (article 65).
174. Constitución española, artículo 58, título II; de la Corona (2003).

7 Conclusions

1. Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings*, 60.



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Codices

Selections from C.3, C.6, and C.7

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